



Schoolchildren on a devastated street in Vukovar, Croatia. During fighting there between Croats and Serbs in 1991, 80 percent of the town's buildings were destroyed.

UN Plans Mass Muslim Evacuation in Bosnia

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Service
SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — The United Nations plans to evacuate up to 15,000 Muslim refugees from the Serb-besieged town of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, the largest such operation its relief agency has undertaken since fighting began in Bosnia a year ago.
On Tuesday, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees was to begin sending trucks to the town to evacuate 1,000 to 1,500 women, children, elderly and sick people daily, according to the special UN refugee envoy, José Marie Mendiluce.
[Heavy fighting, some of it hand-to-hand, was reported near Srebrenica on Monday, Reuters reported, quoting Sarajevo radio. Fierce infantry and artillery attacks on Srebrenica also were reported.
Commanders of Bosnia's three warring sides are to meet under UN auspices in Sarajevo on Tuesday to discuss how to consolidate a cease-fire declared eight days ago.]
The UN body has been involved before in helping war refugees cross lines between warring Serb and Muslim factions. But it has never engaged in a mass evacuation such as this, which could trigger the departure of all Muslims from the Srebrenica enclave.
Alarmed by the evacuation's potential implications, Srebrenica's Muslim authorities refused on Sunday to allow refugees to board eight departing UN relief trucks that had brought food to the town. They accused the UN agency of simply serving the Bosnian Serbs' objective to "ethnically cleanse" eastern Bosnia of its Muslims.
The UN relief group has already evacuated 5,500 refugees. At least six refugees, including two children, have been killed in the crush to board trucks.
If an additional 15,000 people are evacuated, the Srebrenica enclave will have lost from one-third to one-half of its remaining Muslim population. There are an estimated 20,000 Muslims in the city itself, and, according to UN officials, from 40,000 to 60,000 in the entire enclave.
Srebrenica is one of only three Muslim towns still holding out against advancing Bosnian Serb forces, who seem intent on capturing all of it.
See HOSNIA, Page 2

Was the Risk In Vancouver Worth it for Both Leaders?

By Joseph Fitchett
International Herald Tribune
PARIS — The Vancouver summit meeting signaled a turning point in international affairs by directly involving the United States in the battle over the course of political events in Russia.
If successful, the shift foreshadows a U.S.-Russian partnership that will shape the future balance of power in Europe and color the chances for international political and military cooperation in the post-Cold War era.
Explaining the muted tone of official statements about the Vancouver meeting, a U.S. policymaker said Monday that the Clinton administration's commitment was "unpopular at home because Americans oppose foreign aid, disliked by other governments that don't like seeing the old superpowers working together again, and a gamble for both leaders."
For President Bill Clinton, the worst risk is that Boris N. Yeltsin will lose power anyway. For Mr. Yeltsin, the risk is that his position might be undermined by accusations that he is too dependent on the United States.
But the opportunities for both leaders appeared too great to pass up. Already, the American decision to provide tangible assistance has started prying more help from other Western governments.
The U.S. financial commitment, while still smaller than the \$2 billion spent in Somalia in the last six months, has already forced a much larger item of economic relief: the rescheduling of Russia's foreign debt.
That concession "was going to happen sometime this year anyway, but the timing now was undoubtedly the result of American pressure to make the summit a success," a European diplomat said.
Germany, by far Moscow's leading creditor after taking over many Russian loans during talks on German reunification, sounded almost miffed on Monday.
See SUMMIT, Page 8

Back Home, Yeltsin Starts Post-Summit Sales Pitch

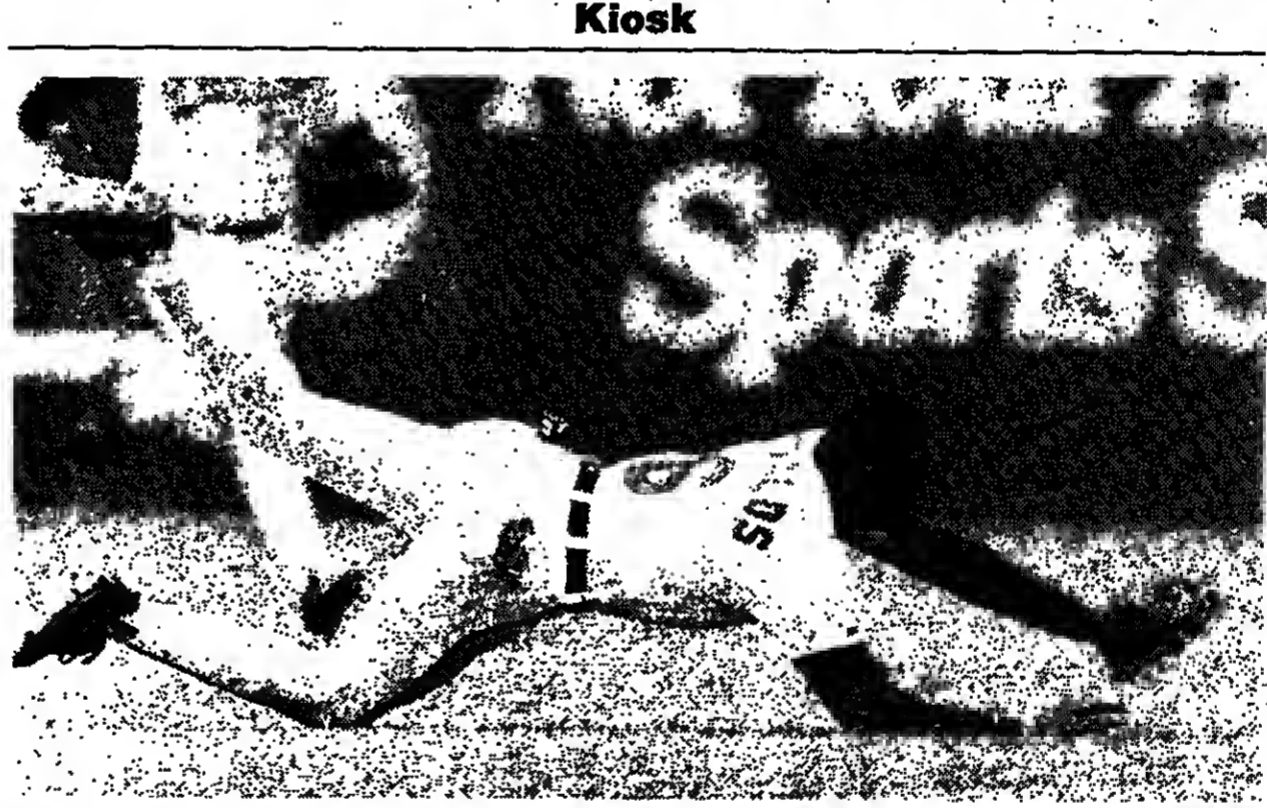
Will the Benefits Count In April Referendum? Many Russians Doubt It
By Steven Erlanger
New York Times Service
MOSCOW — Russian officials on Monday began the process of selling the results of the Vancouver summit meeting at fuel stop in Kamchatka, even before landing in Moscow.
The view here was that Boris N. Yeltsin had done himself some good with a dignified, "presidential" summit meeting, organized to ensure that he had to give few public concessions to President Bill Clinton.
Still, Russian analysts and ordinary citizens interviewed Monday agreed that the meeting was unlikely to be a decisive factor on April 25, when Russians vote — or decide not to vote — in an important plebiscite on Mr. Yeltsin's performance and the possibility of early presidential and parliamentary elections.
"It doesn't seem to me this new partnership is for real," said Alexander Matveyev, a 32-year-old in a black leather jacket who was shopping along Petrovka Street. "It seems like the United States is up above, looking down on us right now. These kinds of discussions could only happen because of our miserable situation."
But Mr. Matveyev, who works in local law enforcement, said he thought that concrete, visible aid would help Mr. Yeltsin.
"Of course American support has influence here," he said. "But I'm also for Yeltsin, so I can't say I think the United States has done anything wrong."
Mr. Yeltsin returned to Moscow on Monday night. Earlier, at a stopover in Bratsk, in east central Russia, he visited an aluminum factory and talked up the positive results of his meeting with Mr. Clinton. But he concentrated on April 25, urging workers to vote "yes" on all four referendum questions, including fresh elections for both president and parliament.
"Don't be afraid to say 'yes,' also, to the question about re-electing the president," Mr. Yeltsin advised.
In a stopover in Kamchatka, in the far eastern Russia, Alexander N. Shokhin, a deputy prime minister, lauded the summit meeting and the new access Russian goods would have to world markets.
Also in Kamchatka, the foreign minister, Andrei V. Kozyrev, praised Mr. Yeltsin's conduct of the meeting and then joked, in a reference to the parliament, "Thank God, nothing signed and agreed upon in Vancouver needs ratification."
Raisa Yakovleva, 52, an accountant, is the sort of person to whom the politicians are selling. She watched little of the coverage of the summit meeting, preferring to rest over the weekend. But the issues are important, she said on Petrovka Street, and the West should concentrate less on helping Mr. Yeltsin and more on the Russian people.
"The Russian people will get us up and out of this no matter what happens at these summits," she said. "The West shouldn't only support Yeltsin, but the people, too. First should come the people. The West has already given us credits for a while now, and humanitarian aid seems more a lot of talk than action."
Her concerns were put in a more elegant form by Oleg T. Bogomolov, director of the Institute of International Economic and Political Studies. He said the summit meeting had been good for Mr. Yeltsin, and most Russians
See YELTSIN, Page 8

The Long Wait in Somalia Homesick Marines Stuck in Boondocks

By Keith B. Richburg
Washington Post Service
BARDERA, Somalia — The 325 U.S. Marines left at this scorched and dusty crossroads in a desolate corner of western Somalia have coined a sad motto summing up their desire to go home: "The Forgotten, The Few — the Barbers."
Most of the time, Bardera is engulfed by a powdery reddish-gray sand that fills nostrils, stains clothes and wrecks havoc on truck engines and weapons parts. When it rains, the town becomes submerged in 3 feet of brown river mud.
Said Master Gunnery Sergeant Ross Cochran as he was surveying the barren landscape around the dirt and gravel airstrip here, "We figured the good Lord took one day off and let his disciples build this place."
Elsewhere around the "famine belt" of southern Somalia, the U.S. Marines and army soldiers who moved into its desolate towns in December have pulled back to Mogadishu, the Somali capital, and at least half of the initial intervention force has already gone home.
Security for Somalia's towns has been turned over to other nations of the U.S.-led coalition — the Australians in Baidoa, the Canadians in Belet Uen, the French in Hoddur.
Bardera, however, remains the last U.S. military outpost outside the capital, and American officials in Mogadishu concede that they have had trouble finding another country willing to send troops.
Indians were once rumored to be coming. And now Pakistanis. But the Marines in Bardera, who first arrived Christmas Eve to a dramatic welcome from a famished and war-weary population, continue to wait. And wait.
The homesickness has been intensified because the Marines — many of whom arrived with the first intervention wave and are now on See MARINES, Page 8

Latin Growers in Revolt Over EC Banana Tariffs

By James Brooke
New York Times Service
BOGOTA — The French Embassy in Ecuador has been pelted with bananas. Workers in Colombia's principal banana-growing region have lost their jobs. In Panama, the president was forced to announce that, much as the people might like, he could not close the canal to vessels with European flags.
Latin America is in revolt against Europe, this time over bananas.
The European Community recently adopted a package of quotas and tariffs aimed at cutting by more than half Europe's banana imports from Latin America, starting July 1.
Europe wants to help some former banana-growing colonies of European nations in Africa and the Caribbean by waving through their bananas tariff-free and slapping hefty tariffs on the Latin fruit. In the last six years, the consumption of bananas from the tropical islands of European nations and in former colonies has leveled off. During the same period, however, Europe's consumption of Latin American bananas doubled.
For Latin American growers, who made Europe their fastest-growing export market during the 1980s, the decision is provoking a shock as if snow fell in the Amazon.
Until recently, growing bananas for northern markets was a multibillion-dollar bright spot for Latin America's struggling economies. About half the region's banana exports have traditionally gone to Europe. Growers calculate that the new restrictions, announced in February, will cost Latin America \$1 billion and 170,000 jobs by 1995.
While Germany, a nation that is particularly fond of bananas, and Belgium are trying to reverse the ruling in the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg, banana prices are falling in Latin America, land prices for banana plantations are also dropping, and some fruit is rotting in the fields.
"It is one of the greatest acts of injustice in world economic history," declared Rafael Leonardo Callejas, president of Honduras, a Central American nation that depends on banana sales for 60 percent of its export earnings.
Juan Manuel Santos, the Colombian trade minister, is fuming. "Diabolical, perverse, discriminatory and illegal," he said, and for good reason: His country is the world's third-largest exporter of bananas.
"Banana wars," predicted a headline in Colombia's most widely circulated newspaper, El Tiempo.
Bananas are not the only Latin American fruit to run into barriers erected by a newly See BANANAS, Page 4



ONE THAT GOT AWAY — Harold Reynolds of the Baltimore Orioles diving in vain to reach the ball on a double by Jose Canseco of the Texas Rangers. The visiting Rangers won, 7-4, on Monday, the opening day of major league baseball. Page 21.

U.S. Says 'No' on Deportees

WASHINGTON (AP) — The State Department rejected on Monday an appeal by President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt that the United States pressure Israel to accelerate the timetable for the return of Palestinians who were deported in December.
A department spokesman, Richard A. Boucher, outlined the U.S. position as Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher talked with Mr. Mubarak at the State Department.
The dispute over the Palestinians has raised doubts about attendance at the next round of Middle East peace talks, scheduled to start on April 20.
Israel's offer to take back 101 of the deportees now and the remaining 300 by the end of the year has been rejected by the Palestinians, who have threatened to boycott the next round of talks.
Related article, Page 2

General News
The Supreme Court rejected an appeal from a Marine convicted of spying in Moscow. Page 2.
Turkey warns Armenians as the offensive against Azerbaijan makes progress. Page 8.
Business/Finance
The yen's rise should spur Japanese investment in Asia. Page 15.
Lufthansa is discussing ties with American Airlines. Page 17.
The Philippines is taking steps to ease its power shortage. Page 19.

Dow Jones	Trib Index
Up 8.38	Down 0.02%
3,279.19	98.55

The Dollar	Previous Close	
New York	1.5945	1.5995
DM	1.521	1.5215
Pound	113.685	113.75
Yen	5.4191	5.4385
FF		

Crossword Page 22
Weather Page 22

'Clinton Pz' Helps to Put the White House on Line

By Richard L. Berke
New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — Want a full transcript of President Bill Clinton's latest speech on housing or welfare? Just tap in a command on your home computer.
Want the White House to know instantly what you think of Mr. Clinton's economic plan? Call the "White House comments line" and punch in a response on your touch-tone phone.
Have more to say? Just type a note on your computer and punch in the White House electronic-mail address. In seconds, your message will have reached 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.
Mr. Clinton does not have a computer in the Oval Office but he has surrounded himself with a new generation of aides who are steeped in the latest technology. They are marketing Mr. Clinton (his computer name is Clinton Pz) in ways that a president has never been presented before.
While the grind of speeches and news conferences by the Clinton administration may be conventional, the president's messages — critics would say propaganda — are penetrating households and offices in far less traditional ways.
For the first time, even people with little knowledge of computers can send a message to the White House through electronic mail. One computer jockey recently began a note to Mr. Clinton with the greeting, "Hey Prez!" Another punched in, "To Waffle Willie."
Subscribers to major on-line computer services like America Online, CompuServe, Internet, MCI Mail and Prodigy can get information put out by the White House on their computers within hours after it is processed.
After punching the command "GO WHITEHOUSE," users of CompuServe see this greeting flash on their computer screens: "Welcome to the White House forum!" They can then retrieve speeches by the president, Vice President Al Gore, or Hillary Rodham Clinton, the president's wife, on dozens of subjects.
They can also access photographs of the president striking any number of patriotic poses. In schools around the country, students and teachers can access by computer the daily White House news briefings, schedules and the president's speeches.
That is only the beginning; administration aides are tinkering with everything from digital photography, so the president's image could be almost instantaneously transmitted to people across the country, to building the president's own cable television network to show government at work. There is even talk of a live, on-line "town meeting" with the president.
"The advantage is you're getting information from the horse's mouth," said Randall Davis, a professor of computer science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who has advised the White House on computers. "You are hearing what the original source said. Not only has the message not been filtered before it arrives at your computer, it has not even been repackaged."
Others warn that the White House is simply using technology to See ON LINE, Page 4

مكتبة الامم المتحدة

Special

WORLD BRIEFS

Black Gunmen Kill 10 From ANC

DURBAN, South Africa (Reuters) — Black gunmen killed 10 people with automatic weapons Monday when they attacked a village near Fort Shepstone in South Africa's strife-torn Natal Province...

Pakistanis Halt Kashmir Protesters

SEHRI, Pakistan (AP) — Huge rolls of barbed wire and thousands of armed Pakistani soldiers blocked 500 demonstrators Monday from marching across Pakistan's disputed border into India...

Japan Suspects Anti-Royalists in Blast

TOKYO (Reuters) — A Japanese palace official's house in Tokyo was damaged by a bomb explosion and an imperial memorial hall in Yokohama was ravaged by fire in separate incidents Monday...

French Mercenary Guilty in Plot

PARIS (AP) — Bob Denard, a mercenary who led raids and combat across Africa for 30 years, was convicted and given a five-year suspended sentence Monday for criminal association...

China Denies Jump in Arms Imports

BEIJING (Reuters) — Seeking to calm fears about its growing military strength, China said Monday that it did not intend to begin large-scale weapons imports from abroad...

TRAVEL UPDATE

Tourists Warned On Florida Crime

LONDON (Reuters) — British tour operators and car rental companies on Monday warned tourists visiting Florida to take precautions against violent crime by avoiding dangerous areas and leaving valuables behind...

Marine Who Spied At Moscow Mission Is Refused Appeal

By Linda Greenhouse New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court refused on Monday to review the espionage conviction of Clayton J. Lonetree, the Marine sergeant convicted of spying for the Soviet Union while assigned to guard the American embassies in Moscow and Vienna during the mid-1980s.

The court made no comment in letting the 1987 conviction stand. Private Lonetree, who was reduced in rank and sentenced to 25 years in prison, argued that he was tricked into confessing to two American intelligence agents who promised him confidentiality but then reported him to the authorities and testified against him at his trial.

Private Lonetree talked to the two agents, identified publicly only as Little John and Big John, over several days in a Vienna hotel room. The agents never informed him of his right to remain silent or consult a lawyer.

The military courts that upheld his conviction by court-martial ruled that because the intelligence agents were not his superior officers, were not themselves law enforcement agents, and because Private Lonetree was not in custody when he talked to them, neither the lack of Miranda warnings nor the broken promise of confidentiality made his confession invalid.

In his Supreme Court appeal, Private Lonetree's lawyers argued that the confession should be regarded as involuntary, and inadmissible as evidence, because the promise of confidentiality made it the product of "coercive conduct."

In response, the government argued that there was no coercion. A promise of confidentiality, the government said, "is not the kind of government conduct that is likely to overbear a person's will and in



Bosnian Serbian soldiers patrolling near the village of Podvezje, about 20 kilometers from the Croat-controlled town of Mostar.

For Bosnian Serbs, Facts Beat Talking

By Roger Cohen New York Times Service

BELGRADE — In rejecting the peace plan for Bosnia negotiated by the international community, the Serbs have evidently concluded that they have enough military strength on the ground and enough stoicism to withstand whatever is coming.

Though the United Nations is still groping for a way to induce them to sign the draft accord, the Bosnian Serbs have opted for hard facts over diplomacy. After a year of fighting they hold about 70 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina and their forces are much better armed than their Muslim and Croatian foes. And any notion of Western military intervention is filled with potential pitfalls and could have explosive repercussions.

The international negotiating process is on the rocks and shipwrecked, a Western diplomat here said. "The Serbs have decided that the proposals for Bosnia are unacceptable and that they are going to tough it out and wait for the world to come to its senses."

For the Bosnian Serbs, that would involve an admission by leading Western nations that the notion of a sovereign state of Bosnia-Herzegovina was a mistake now buried in the rubble of a year of civil war in the former Yugoslav republic.

That idea is unacceptable to the United States and other Western nations as well as to the Muslim-led Bosnian government because it would reward Serbian aggression. In a pattern that their nationalist fighters describe as "ethnic cleansing," Serbs have driven Muslims from wide swaths of the republic.

Precedent gives the Serbs support in their determination to hang tough and put force

before talk. Although fighting in neighboring Croatia largely stopped more than a year ago, the Serbs still hold close to one-third of that former Yugoslav republic's territory, just as they did when the truce began in January 1992.

In that case, Serbs did accept a peacekeeping force involving the stationing of UN troops in four Serbian-occupied areas. But that did not deter the Croatian Serbs from digging in and declaring their own Serbian Republic of Krajina.

Western analysts now expect the Bosnian Serbs to try and circumvent the peace efforts of the United Nations and European Community through direct talks with the other warring parties in Bosnia.

A meeting between the three military commanders is scheduled on Wednesday at the airport at Sarajevo, the capital. In the talks, the Bosnian Serbs' commander, General Ratko Mladic, is likely to press publicly for maintaining the tenuous cease-fire.

That would be good public relations and would put the Bosnian government of President Alija Izetbegovic in a delicate position of being obliged to take up the offensive if it loses patience.

The analysts see some likelihood that the

Serbs may try and reach a deal with the Croats to put the Muslims on the defensive in Bosnia. They would have some bargaining chips to use in such negotiations.

The most important thing to the Croats is securing their position around Mostar and other towns in the Herzegovina region and insuring that Serbs do not resume their shelling of the Dalmatian coast. Recently the Serbs lobbed a few shells from Trebinje into the suburbs of Dubrovnik, a Croatian resort, that was heavily damaged in the fighting in 1991.

A trade-off on these points appears possible because only the Serbs can offer the Croats security in Herzegovina and the Dalmatian region, and only the Croats can guarantee the Serbs their corridor.

Fundamental to the thinking among the Bosnian Serbs and the Serbian leadership in Yugoslavia is an attitude that any steps the international community is likely to take now to make life more painful will not in fact make much difference.

The only thing that would do so — Western military force — has not been used, and the Serbs' calculation is clearly that the same doubts and fears will continue to prevent it.

Nine months of crippling UN sanctions have already left the Yugoslav economy in ruins, with inflation running at more than 250 percent a month, industrial production down by more than 50 percent last year, and a third of the work force idled.

A defiant sentiment has grown that things cannot get much worse, so let the world do what it will.

BOSNIA: UN to Evacuate 15,000 Muslim Refugees

(Continued from page 1)

eastern Bosnia and incorporating it either into a separate republic or into a greater Serbia.

The other two towns are Zepa, which until recently had an estimated 29,000 people, and Gorazde, with 60,000 to 70,000. Mr. Mendilovic said on Monday, however, that thousands of Muslim refugees were pouring into Zepa.

He said he had discussed the UN evacuation plan for Srebrenica with Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, on Sunday and had gained his authorization to proceed with it. The Bosnian leader

has not publicly indicated his approval, however.

The UN refugee group and UN forces together battled for weeks to overcome Serbian opposition to letting food convoys into Srebrenica, which has been cut off since mid-December. When the first convoy arrived on March 30, it was trapped by starving and fearful refugees desperate to leave.

UN officials now find themselves accused by the very Muslims they sought to save of collaborating with the Serbs and becoming the unwitting instrument of their ethnic-cleansing policy.

German Court Hears Arguments On Bosnia Role

The Associated Press

BERLIN — Germany's highest court on Monday considered a plea from the divided government asking it to rule on whether the German Air Force can help enforce a United Nations no-flight zone in Bosnia.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's cabinet decided Friday to ask the Constitutional Court to decide whether the government could send the first German combat mission abroad since World War II.

The government was forced into the move by the Free Democratic Party, the junior partner in Mr. Kohl's coalition, which said it objected to German crews manning reconnaissance flights to enforce the no-flight zone. The reconnaissance flights would be under the command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The opposition Social Democrats joined the Free Democrats in petitioning the Constitutional Court for an injunction to ban German involvement. The eight judges considered written briefs Monday and were to hear oral arguments Wednesday.

The enforcement of the no-flight zone is expected to start in about two weeks.

Owen Urges All-Out Pressure on Serbs

New York Times Service

PARIS — Lord Owen, the European Community's mediator on Yugoslavia, called Monday for "relentless pressure" to be placed on Bosnian Serbs to make them accept a peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, but he cautioned against lifting an arms embargo on Bosnian Muslims.

Lord Owen said a political solution was still possible and he criticized a suggestion by Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher that the arms embargo on Bosnian Muslims might be lifted soon.

Mr. Christopher, in a televised interview, had said refusal by the Bosnian Serbs to accept the peace plan could lead Washington to go

"to our allies and see if we could find a consensus for lifting the arms embargo."

Earlier Monday, the Western European Union, a 10-nation regional defense group, stepped up pressure on Belgrade by agreeing to send speedboats manned by police to patrol the Danube River in Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

Advertisement for Vacheron Constantin watches. Features a large image of a watch with a metal link bracelet. Text includes 'VACHERON CONSTANTIN GENEVA SINCE 1755' and 'Visiting New York City? Gramercy Park Hotel'.

DEATH NOTICE
ERMINI, RUTH WILSON
Longtime resident of Greenwich, CT and New York City. Died March 31st, in Stamford, CT. Survived by two daughters, Toni and Terry Ermini and three grandchildren. Memorial Mass was held in Greenwich, CT.

FIRST 100 DAYS / SENATE ROADBLOCK

Stymied by Filibuster, Clinton Is Ready to Deal on Jobs Bill

By Michael Wines
New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — Nine days into a filibuster over President Bill Clinton's \$16.3 billion jobs stimulus plan, two of his top aides indicated Monday at the Capitol that the White House was ready to deal.

"We're prepared to provide whatever cooperation is necessary to see that this bill moves," said Mr. Clinton's budget director, Leon E. Panetta, adding that it would be a "tragedy" if no agreement were reached.

That was a marked change from the Democrats' earlier posture that the bill must be passed virtually as written, or not at all.

The Republicans' leader, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, said later that the Clinton administration was starting to abandon some parts of its \$16.3 billion package, which includes new public-works projects and spending increases in existing federal programs.

He also suggested, however, there was a long way to go. Both sides in the Senate seemed weary of name-calling and serious about finding a compromise that they could pass, and then go on vacation. But none seemed imminent.

Asked what sort of compromise the Democrats could propose to satisfy Republican objections to the legislation, Mr. Dole replied, "a big one."

Mr. Dole and the Democratic

majority leader, George J. Mitchell of Maine, were to talk privately late Monday after meeting separately with senators from their parties.

Details of the two sides' opening positions began to surface, along with statesmanlike calls for cooperation and reason, minutes after the Senate tried Monday for the third time, and failed for the third time, to end the Republicans' stalling tactics.

The Senate voted almost entirely along party lines, 49 to 29, to stop debate and force a vote on the legislation, but that was 11 votes short of the 60 needed under Senate rules. The Democrats will try again on Wednesday, but the vote is largely for show; the outcome will not change until the two sides strike a compromise.

Each has a different idea of what a compromise entails.

Republicans want to strip away roughly half the spending in the main part of the bill, excluding huge grants for college-student loans, local government projects, federal computer and telephone purchases and scores of other lesser items.

The remainder includes some \$4 billion in unemployment benefits, \$300 million for childhood immunizations, and \$1 billion in summer jobs for the poor.

Democrats have offered so far only to remove the college loan money, which totals about \$1.9 billion, Republicans said.

Moreover, the two sides are stalled over whether the remaining programs should be financed by deficit spending — the Democratic position — or by cuts elsewhere in the federal budget, as the Republicans want.

★ POLITICAL NOTES ★

'Progress' Cited in Clinton's Hiring of Women

WASHINGTON — Clinton supporters in the hinterland may be frustrated by the share of Washington jobs parceled out to them, but women's groups are happy with the trend for women in senior posts.

Thirty-eight — or 25 percent — of the 150 most senior jobs in executive agencies had gone to women as of March 29. That compares with a 20 percent rate for all jobs during the Bush years, a 12 percent rate for the Reagan administration and a 13.5 percent rate for the Carter administration.

Women's activists say that when all the Senate-confirmed jobs are filled — more than 1,100 positions counting U.S. attorneys, U.S. marshals, ambassadors and commissioners — about one-third of the officeholders will be women.

"Is it where we would like to be?" said Harriet Woods, head of the National Women's Political Caucus. "No. But it is extraordinary progress." (NYT)

Mrs. Clinton Ends 16-Day Stay in Little Rock

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton has returned to Washington, ending a 16-day stay in Little Rock, Arkansas, at the bedside of her critically ill father, Mrs. Clinton's daughter, Chelsea, 13, arrived back at the White House with her mother.

Hugh Rodham, 82, suffered a stroke on March 19 and has been listed in critical condition at a Little Rock hospital. Mrs. Clinton's deputy press secretary, Neel Latimore, said Mrs. Clinton decided to return to Washington because her father's condition had not changed. He said Mrs. Clinton planned to go ahead with a scheduled speech in Texas on Tuesday. (AP)

Congress's Next Task: Campaign-Fund Bill

WASHINGTON — Sometime after Congress returns from its Easter recess, it will face the next Clinton administration legislative push: campaign finance reform.

Within two to three weeks, sources said, Democrats are to introduce legislation eliminating one of the most lucrative sources of campaign funds: the largely unregulated donations made directly to political parties by groups and individuals. The donations, which unlike contributions to candidates have no limits, have dominated party fund raising and fed voter outrage over special interests' influence in Washington. (LAT)

Quote / Unquote

Senator Alan K. Simpson, Republican of Wyoming, on strong-arm tactics by Senator Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia, to force through the Clinton administration's jobs package: "This is stiff time. He can stiff us and we can stiff him." (NYT)

In Texas, 24-Candidate Brawl to Replace Bentsen

By Sam Howe Verhovek
New York Times Service

HOUSTON — As a political speculator spurned, the election to replace Lloyd Bentsen as senator from Texas has turned into the kind of wild free-for-all not seen here since 1961, when 71 people vied for the right to succeed Lyndon B. Johnson.

When the filing deadline for the May 1 open election passed on Thursday, 24 people had signed up, ranging from a candidate who gave his occupation as "honest lawyer" to a heart-transplant recipient who insists a vote for him is a vote for "automatic term limitation" because doctors have told him he has only eight years to live.

But as the field narrows to the runoff stage, it is likely to evolve into something else: a sneak preview of the 1994 congressional elections and a kind of early referendum on Bill Clinton's presidency. And looming on the sidelines here is a Texan who is out running but whose word could affect the fortunes of those who are: Ross Perot.

In Texas politics, the special election amounts to a major event, just the third since 1961, when the incumbent, Lloyd Bentsen, 72, resigned to become Treasury secretary in the Clinton administration.

The race has already provided memorable spectacles like that of 20 candidates

trying to "debate" each other in Austin one night last week with Mr. Perot as the host. But the critical question seems to be not so much who will finish first, but who will come next.

The Democrat selected by Governor Ann W. Richards to be interim senator, Bob Krueger, a former congressman and Texas railroad commissioner, is widely expected to lead the field in the voting, but to fall short of the 50 percent he needs to avoid a runoff.

In a state of 17 million people and with a ballot of so many names (there are no party primaries to narrow the field in the special election), fewer than 400,000 votes could be enough to qualify someone for second place and a subsequent shot at Mr. Krueger.

The most likely scenario is that one of three Republicans now engaged in a brutal intraparty struggle — State Treasurer Kay Bailey Hutchison and U.S. Representative Joe Barton and Jack Fields — will wriggle into a runoff. But there are plenty of wild-card possibilities, too, including Richard W. Fisher, a Dallas businessman and former policy adviser to Mr. Perot who says he may spend up to \$4 million of his own money on the campaign, and Jose Angel Gutierrez, a former county judge who is the sole Hispanic candidate.

And even when someone does emerge out of a field that is bereft of any household names to begin with, the truly pivotal

figures in the race may not even be on the ballot.

President Clinton, for whom the race is an obvious precursor to a 1994 Republican effort to recapture Senate seats at the halfway point of Mr. Clinton's term. Party leaders, hoping that one of the Republicans comes out as the challenger to Mr. Krueger, have indicated that they may pour millions of dollars into an anti-Krueger, anti-Clinton campaign.

Texas's two prominent officeholders and possible future presidential candidates, Governor Richards, a Democrat, and Phil Gramm, a Republican and Texas's senior senator, for whom the race is a supreme test of political prestige and strength.

Mr. Perot, who received 22 percent of the votes in his home state last fall as an independent candidate for president.

Mr. Perot has carefully declined so far to issue any endorsement in the race, but many of the candidates seem to be falling over themselves to win his support. And if he gives even the slightest indication of leaning in any candidate's direction, it could be enough to push that person into a runoff.

Such a nudge could be particularly important because the race, at least so far, has not produced well-defined differences between the contestants. And with the possible exceptions of Mr. Krueger and Mrs. Hutchison, who won a statewide race in 1990, no one seems to have high name recognition.

"The issues are so clouded that the voters are going to have a difficult time distinguishing among the candidates," said George Christian, a Democratic consultant and former top aide to President Johnson who is not advising anyone in this race.

"Everyone's running against Washington," Mr. Christian said.

Democrats are hoping for a repeat of the 1961 special election, only with the roles of the major parties reversed. In that election, the Democrats essentially committed fratricide; the party so badly splintered that a Republican, John G. Tower, managed to capture a Texas Senate seat for the first time since Reconstruction.

This time around, Governor Richards and other party leaders have more or less gotten Democrats to coalesce around Mr. Krueger, a former Elizabethan scholar and Duke University English professor, one of whose major virtues is that he has no big enemies.



The Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.'s widow, Coretta Scott King, at a memorial service with her daughters, Yolanda, left, and Bernice, and Reverend Joseph Lowery at Mr. King's tomb in Atlanta.

Racial Divide Remains in U.S.

25 Years After King Slaying, a Gloomy View of Relations

By Peter Applebome
New York Times Service

ATLANTA — Twenty-five years after the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, more than half of black and white Americans rate the nation's race relations as poor, and blacks and whites remain deeply divided on economic issues like preferential hiring and promotion of minorities.

The findings in a New York Times/CBS News Poll, as well as the prevailing sour racial mood, in which the name King today more often summons up Rodney G. King — whose beating at the hands of Los Angeles police officers was videotaped and viewed by millions — provide a gloomy counterpoint to observances in memory of the civil-rights leader, who was slain in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4, 1968.

Still, the current mood accurately reflects the frustrations of Mr. King's final years, when he became increasingly aware that addressing the economic and social problems of the black poor in the United States was going to be far more complicated and elusive than mounting the moral crusade that desegregated the South.

In recent years, a troubled economy has made these issues even more difficult to address and contributed to both increased competition for scarce jobs between blacks and whites and the plagues of drugs and crime in black communities.

"His whole focus at the end was on the economic issues, but no one

could have foreseen the levels of cultural decay in American life and the kind of economic slowdown we would face," said Cornel West, chairman of the African-American studies program at Princeton University. "No one could have expected the level of violence, physical and psychic, we see today. It would bring tears to his eyes."

According to the poll, only 37 percent of Americans rated the nation's race relations as good. That included 38 percent of white respondents and 27 percent of blacks. A total of 55 percent of whites and 66 percent of blacks said race relations were bad. A slim majority of Americans, 52 percent, including 54 percent of whites and 45 percent of blacks, said race relations were better now than they were 25 years ago.

The poll of 1,368 respondents, of whom 1,056 are white and 229 are black, had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 3 percentage points for whites and 6 percentage points for blacks. The responses from 83 others, who indicated they were of some other race, were too few to be statistically reliable. The poll was conducted March 28-31.

On some issues, blacks and whites had sharply differing perceptions. For example, almost half the white respondents who were asked how much real improvement there has been in the position of black people in the last 25 years said blacks had made a lot of progress. Only 29 percent of blacks agreed that there had been a lot of

progress, but more than half said there had been some.

The gap between blacks and whites was widest on issues that touched on jobs. When asked if blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion where there had been job discrimination in the past, 33 percent of all Americans said yes. But while only 28 percent of whites said a preference should be given, 66 percent of blacks said there should be a preference.

Many respondents said economic pressures and competition for jobs were imperiling the gains they had seen in their lifetimes.

"When there's economic tension, when there are a lot of people out of work, when people are competing against each other for few jobs and the jobs that do exist don't seem to pay enough to make ends meet, then the old prejudices and hatreds resurface," said Dennis Souza, 42, a white social worker from Massachusetts.

Many blacks said the legal gains of Martin Luther King Jr.'s era had not translated into lasting social or economic ones.

"I was one of the original marchers on Washington, and what I've found is, as far as race relations go now, it's just a facade," said Samuel Butler, 47, of Maryland, who recently left his job of 13 years and sued his employer, saying he was a victim of discrimination. "There are a number of people I've met and talked to here over the last few years especially, who've become victimized by racism."

Away From Politics

● The ACLU has voted to oppose as unconstitutional the U.S. civil rights trial of four Los Angeles police officers involved in the beating of Rodney G. King. The American Civil Liberties Union said the trial violated the officers' right not to be tried twice for the same offense.


● Guards at a county jail in Minnesota freed the wrong man after he answered a release call for another prisoner who was arrested, Craig Karl Anderson, 19, who was being held on a criminal sexual-conduct charge, was re-arrested a day after his release from St. Louis County jail, the sheriff's department said.

● Reporters in Florida would have the right to keep news sources confidential, even in court, under terms of legislation approved by the state legislature and sent to Governor Lawton Chiles, where its fate was uncertain.

● Fuel is flowing again through a pipeline in Virginia that ruptured and leaked more than 358,000 gallons of diesel oil into a Potomac River tributary near Washington. The pipeline was reconstructed after the spill.

● The depletion of the Earth's protective ozone layer is the target of study for the latest space shuttle mission, which was set to set to go early Tuesday in a rare middle-of-the-night launching from Cape Canaveral, Florida. (NYT, AP)

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Apr 11 1993

Swiss, Defying UN, Germany Tightens Frontiers

By Robert L. Kroon

Special to the Herald Tribune
BERN — Ignoring protests from the United Nations Sanctions Committee and the African National Congress, the Swiss government has authorized the sale of 60 single-engine Pilatus PC-9 aircraft to South Africa.

A government official said the deal, worth \$175 million, did not violate any embargo, "because this is clearly a nonmilitary plane and we have a commitment from Pretoria that the PC-9 will be used only for pilot training."

Switzerland is not a member of the United Nations, but has promised to respect the international arms and trade embargo against South Africa.

That, however, did not prevent the Swiss Army Air Force from sending its Mirage crews to South Africa from 1982 to 1988 to gain practical experience from South African pilots.

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Africans who were flying combat missions at the time over Namibia and Angola in the same type of Mirage-3 interceptor.

In turn, South African Mirage pilots were invited to hone their flying skills in Switzerland. The army air force contends that it was a "strictly informal exchange" involving a only handful of pilots.

Air force officials in Bern said last week that the Swiss pilots were not in uniform, were engaged in operational missions and did not violate military regulations.

The Defense Department in Bern asserts that it was never informed by its chiefs of staff about the exchange. The Department of Foreign Affairs has condemned the deal as "politically unjustified," but sees no reasons for banning the sale of Pilatus trainers to the South African Air Force.

In Switzerland, the Pilatus, which can be fitted with floats or skis, is used for depositing alpinists on glaciers and dropping fodder to mountain huts.

"With our plane it is harder to kill someone than with a simple knife," the Pilatus chairman, Ernst Thomke, asserted last month.

Aviation experts rate the single-engine turboprop as a "multipurpose" aircraft that can be fitted with underwing stations for rocket pods and other ordnance.

The Nouveau Quotidien of Luxembourg last month obtained photographs of a Burmese Air Force PC-9 "maison aircraft" landing with Belgian-made rocket pods, a French 120-millimeter cannon and a 120-kilogram bomb.

The plane was the Burmese evidence. Pilatus officials conceded that the Swiss ban on military exports to conflict areas had been violated.

Germany Tightens Frontiers

Agence France-Press

BERLIN — Border police began deploying a force of 1,600 auxiliaries along Germany's eastern frontiers Monday to help combat a flood of illegal immigration that new regulations have failed to stem.

The first 500 auxiliaries, who have been recruited for three years and have undergone a six-week training program, have been stationed along the border with Poland and Czechoslovakia, according to Dietrich Brucker, head of the border police in Eastern Germany.

The rest of the auxiliaries will be deployed along the same frontiers by the end of the year, alongside 3,000 regular members of the border police, he said.

Last year, Mr. Brucker said, 310,000 migrants entered Germany illegally, 80 percent of them originating from Romania and Bulgaria. Nearly 28,000 of them immediately applied for asylum, benefiting from laws that provide them with housing and money while their request is being considered.

In the first quarter of 1993, police intercepted 12,500 illegal migrants, Mr. Brucker said.

In the eastern city of Halberstadt, meanwhile, the police said Monday that four neo-Nazi youths had been arrested for desecrating a memorial to Jews killed during the Nazi era.

The police said that three of the youths kept watch while the fourth, using a homemade stencil, sprayed swastikas and the German imperial eagle on the Stones of Remembrance, a monument in central Halberstadt.

BANANAS: Uproar Over Quotas

(Continued from page 1)

unified Europe. Apple imports from Chile will be drastically limited under a new European Community measure that mandates a 19 percent drop in European apple imports to 611,000 tons this year.

For Latin America's heads of state, Europe's exhortations about the markets of free trade are now ringing quite hollow.

"The European Community wants to give us a tremendous free-trade rule and principles which go against all the free-trade rules and principles so long," President Guillermo Endara of Panama said at a meeting about the issue in Ecuador.

The meeting, attended by Mr. Endara and the presidents of Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, echoed calls for trade reprisals against Europe.

The biggest beneficiaries of the new restrictions — besides the former colonies in Africa and the Caribbean — will be American banana eaters.

"After July 1, you are going to have 40 million boxes of bananas loose on the world market," predicted Francisco Swenz, general manager of Exportadora Bananera.

Indonesia Troops Seize Rebel Leader in Timor

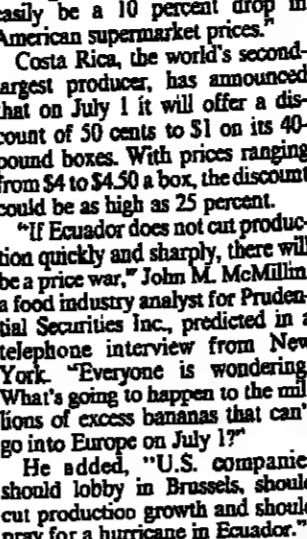
The Associated Press

DILL, Indonesia — Indonesian troops have captured the new leader of rebels fighting for independence in East Timor, officials said Monday.

Major L. Simbolon, a spokesman for the East Timor Military Command, said Antonio Gomes Da Costa, 47, was captured in a cave in Manufahu village in Afimaro, about 50 kilometers south of Dili, East Timor's capital.

Trees of Plenty

Estimated by Country



Colombia

Panama

Costa Rica

Ecuador

Colombia

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ON LINE: High-Tech Takes Over

(Continued from page 1)

Mr. Clinton's economic plan and saying he hoped the president would "stop dividing this country by economic class for class political purposes."

Hundreds of computer messages, known as E-mails, are sent to the White House each day. A man named John Jackson recently sent an electronic message there and got a reply from a man named Alan Gore, who apparently does not work for the administration.

"You are not THE AL GORE ARE YOU?" Mr. Jackson asked.

"No," chimed in a man named Marc Perkel, who was also on line. "he ain't the Veep."

Then Alan Gore replied himself. "The Veep is Gore, and I'm Alan, he wrote. 'Don't feed him. Since the election, I have gotten quite a few phone calls (one obscene) and E-mail messages from people who are confused over the name.'"

Opening the White House to new ways of communicating, however, does not guarantee a positive response. One computer user named Anthony recently fired off a message to the White House attacking

ITALY: A Wider Investigation

(Continued from page 1)

charges against Mr. Andreotti, a Christian Democrat. Illicit funding of politicians and their parties have been at the heart of a scandal in which hundreds of politicians and businessmen have been accused of trading bribes for public works contracts.

The amounts involved are said to have run into billions of dollars and the disclosures have shocked even those Italians who always suspected their politicians were corrupt but now seem amazed by the scale of the scandal.

Mr. Andreotti has insisted that he knew nothing of the scandal because he was not directly involved with his party's accounting.

The tally of involvement among Italy's political and business elite has been growing steadily. With Mr. Forlani, Mr. Andreotti is the third former prime minister to be accused of misdeeds along with the Socialist leader, Bettino Craxi, whose party has been badly damaged by the investigation.

Of the 24 ministers in Prime Minister Giuliano Amato's cabinet when he took office last June, six have resigned after being implicated in the scandal. Senior executives from the biggest state-owned and private companies in Italy have been implicated.

While Mr. Andreotti is no longer prime minister and is, technically, merely a life senator in the Italian Parliament, he still wields powerful influence and is seen by many Italians as a man with a lot of political debts to call.

His supporters among the divided Christian Democrats, thus, have rallied to his defense over the charges of Mafia association, formally asking magistrates to investigate whether evidence against him — based on the testimony of gangland informers — is being orchestrated as part of a conspiracy to undermine him.

Mr. Andreotti himself has depicted the charges of Mafia association as part of a vendetta to avenge the anti-Mafia legislation enacted during his leadership of the country.

His fellow upper-house senators are to meet on April 14 to decide whether his parliamentary immunity should be lifted so that he can face trial, as the Sicilian magistrates have requested. The date is inscribed on a political calendar that could conceivably insulate fundamental changes in the way Italy is run.

Four days later, on April 18, Italians are to vote in a series of 10 referendums that are being widely interpreted in Italy as a judgment on the pork-barrel politics that Mr. Andreotti and Mr. Craxi have come to symbolize.

One of the referendums, in particular, on the electoral law for the Senate, would change the system of pure proportional representation that has produced endless, revolving-door governments in Italy since the end of World War II.

The system, devised in the aftermath of Benito Mussolini's Fascist rule, led to endless horse-trading among the same players to form short-lived coalition governments. From there, it was an easy step to the political patronage that inspired the bribery and corruption scandal. Italians call the system "patronage," meaning that the party machines, not governments or Parliament, wielded real power.

If Italians vote to change the electoral law with a system weighting the vote in favor of parties with the highest ballot, then pressure will mount for similar changes in the lower house.

The scandal has gnawed away at the credibility of Mr. Amato's government, which is now cast by many Italian commentators as little more than a caretaker, awaiting the outcome of the referendum to start what the process toward early elections.

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INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

April 5, 1993

Quotations supplied by fundists listed. Net asset value quotations are supplied by the Funds listed with the exception of some quoted based on issuer prices.

The marginal symbols indicate frequency of quotations supplied: (d) - daily; (w) - weekly; (b) - bi-monthly; (r) - quarterly; (t) - twice weekly on (a) - monthly.

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ABC COLLEGE FUND INC	USA	108.00
ABC ENERGY FUND INC	USA	105.00
ABC FINANCIAL FUND INC	USA	106.00
ABC HEALTH CARE FUND INC	USA	107.00
ABC INTERNATIONAL FUND INC	USA	109.00
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ABC LIFE FUND INC	USA	108.00
ABC MORTGAGE FUND INC	USA	106.00
ABC RISK MANAGEMENT FUND INC	USA	107.00
ABC TRUST FUND INC	USA	105.00
ABC WORLDWIDE FUND INC	USA	108.00
ABC YIELD FUND INC	USA	106.00
ABC ZONE FUND INC	USA	107.00
ABC AMMO BANK, P.A. Box 448, Amsterdam	USA	110.00
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In 'New' Europe, Old Signs of Political Strain

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times Service

PARIS — With opinion polls showing voters all over Europe fed up with the leaders and parties that have dominated politics for decades, at first glance the French elections last month seemed to reaffirm the strength of mainstream democratic politics.

On a continent where far-right parties have been making hay out of rising popular frustration over the social and economic problems caused by foreign immigration and turmoil in formerly Communist countries, this was no small comfort.

But three years after the epochal changes that followed the collapse of communism in Europe, signs of crisis in the political systems that insured the success of its free societies during the Cold War remain evident everywhere — from Britain to Germany in the north, from Spain to Greece in the south.

"My children are aged between 17 and 20, and when they get together with their friends, they don't talk about politics," said Jean-Manuel Bourgois, a French publisher. "They talk about whether any of them or their friends will have jobs after they finish their studies."

Worry about mounting unemployment and the sagging economy is the underlying issue everywhere, but there is also confusion about the purpose and strategic future of Western European societies now that "Western Europe" is no longer forced to lead a separate existence.

The French, with more than 3 million people out of work — 10.6 percent of the labor force — did what voters in the United States did in November after they concluded that the government in power was

incapable of solving the problem. They threw the governing party out and brought in the established opposition.

And, just as nearly a fifth of American voters registered their frustration by voting for the independent candidate Ross Perot, nearly 20 percent of the French electorate supported environmental movements and parties like the far-right National Front led by Jean-Marie Le Pen.

But the new conservative prime minister, Edouard Balladur, now has two years to show that he can do better trying to

cause of corruption scandals and soaring unemployment, which has reached 17 percent. José María Aznar, leader of the opposition People's Party, contends that the French election results presaged a similar outcome when elections are held in Spain later this year.

"The French have put an end to an administration that, just as in Spain, offered a sad balance of unemployment and generalized corruption," he said.

In Germany, Chancellor Helmut Kohl faces general elections in the fall of 1994. Since unification, his conservative-liberal coalition government has been paralyzed by one petty scandal after another, as well as by a broader indecision about the economic and strategic problems that assailed the country after reunification two and a half years ago.

The most recent scandal involves the transportation minister, a man from Eastern Germany named Günther Krause, who insisted on getting a sizable government subsidy for his cleaning woman.

Mr. Kohl's Social Democratic opponent, Björn Engholm, is in no better shape after disclosures that an important party ally had been making payments to a member of Mr. Kohl's Christian Democratic Party, who had tipped off Mr. Engholm five years ago to plans to discredit him by spreading false rumors.

Strong showings in regional elections by rightist German parties like the Republicans, and a wave of far-right attacks against foreigners last year that killed 17 people, raised fears that Germans were sliding back into evil old ways.

But in France, the National Front party of Mr. Le Pen, who appeared at campaign rallies with a private police force that bore stronger resemblance than anything in

Germany today to the Nazi SA paramilitaries, drew a strong protest vote in the first round of the two-stage French elections.

Mr. Le Pen's party won no seats in the legislature in the second runoff round, on March 28, and neither did the coalition of environmental parties that represented the other side of the spectrum of what many had hoped or feared would turn out to be a new politics to replace the old.

In both France and Germany, a revival of French-German cooperation is seen as the best way of reinvigorating vigor into the European Community, and almost the first thing Mr. Balladur did after being named was to announce plans to see Mr. Kohl in Germany on April 22.

The new French government is expected to press the Germans harder than Mr. Mitterrand did to get the independent Bundesbank to lower short-term German interest rates and to allow the French to bring their own down and stimulate their flagging economy.

"The Germans are used to living quite happily for the past 12 years with a weak France," said Pierre Lellouche, foreign policy adviser to Jacques Chirac, leader of France's conservative Gaullist party.

But like many German politicians and central bankers, Mr. Lellouche said he thought the common European currency foreseen by the Maastricht treaty by the end of the decade would never come to pass.

"The treaty is a dead letter," he said. Marie-France Garaud, an opponent of the treaty who is president of the International Institute of Geopolitics in Paris, disagreed. "There is already a de facto common currency, the Deutsche mark," she said.



THORNY SPLIT FOR FRENCH SOCIALISTS — Laurent Fabius, 46, who was removed as Socialist leader in a party split, leaving party headquarters Monday in Paris. He will be succeeded by Michel Rocard, 62, the former prime minister who led the effort to remove Mr. Fabius.

North Italy League Gains Credibility

By Alan Cowell
New York Times Service

MILAN — Not too long ago, Umberto Bossi's brash invective and tousled mop of hair seemed emblematic of a lunatic fringe of northern Italians given to strange garb and fanciful dreams of separation from what they depicted as the slothful, tax-evading sump of the south. These days, they are not so easy to dismiss.

More than any other political group in Italy, Mr. Bossi's Northern League has benefited from the disgrace of more orthodox parties embroiled in the nation's widening bribery and corruption scandal. Their downfall has propelled his party to prominence and popularity with a speed matched in Italy's recent history only by Benito Mussolini's Fascists in the 1920s.

Yet, in this northern city at the heart of Mr. Bossi's fief, there are many who believe the league is close to colliding with the limits of its support. "It started as a protest against the political system and that system is crumbling, so what's there left to protest about?" a Milan banker said recently.

Indro Montanelli, the conservative editor of *Il Giornale*, a Milan newspaper, predicted that the league "will get a lot of votes" in the early national election expected this year. But he adds, "I don't think it will get the majority, even in the north."

It is the league's rough-and-ready expression of northern xenophobia — even racist attitudes toward southerners and immigrants — that deters Italians more accustomed to an air of style and sophistication among their politicians, however corrupt they have turned out to be.

The Northern League promotes the vision of a federal, free-market Italy with strict immigration laws, tax-paying citizens and tight fiscal control over money sent south, with the goal of stiffening the economic muscle of that region.

When Mr. Bossi, a 52-year-old medical school dropout, was asked on a television talk show the other night which books had influenced his thinking, he could not remember reading one recently.

"The cultural level of the league is very, very low," Mr. Montanelli said. "And, as politicians, some of them are illiterate."

Nonetheless, from modest beginnings 14 years ago, the league took 9 percent of the vote in national elections a year ago. Individually, more voters — 240,000 — voted for Mr. Bossi than for any other politician. In municipal elections in a string of northern towns in December, the league took 30 to 40 percent of the vote, emerging as the single biggest party and supplanting such traditional stalwarts as the Christian Democrats and the Socialists, who have been at the center of the country's kickback scandal.

Mr. Bossi behaves and talks much like a man whose hour has come. "The moment has arrived to enter the ring," he said in a published interview. "We are ready."

Casting the powerful Roman Catholic Church as the backer of their sworn adversary, the Christian Democrats, some league members got into a public tussle last year with the highly respected archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Carlo Maria Martini. They accused the Vatican of political meddling and called Cardinal Martini the confessor of a corrupt political class, an accusation they eventually retracted under pressure.

More startling was a remark last year by Gianfranco Miglio, regarded by some as the league's ideologue, who termed the Holocaust an "error of style" in comments urging a resurgence of German political power in Europe.

"If for Miglio the Holocaust was only a matter of style, I would suggest he consult a good dictionary," said Tullia Zevi, the head of Italy's principal Jewish organization.

Last year league officials in the northern city of Trento posted bills telling southern Italians to "go home," prompting Mr. Bossi to suspend them from the party. He has cast himself as a moderating influence on the high passions stirred by what the league describes as the inefficiency of the south but also by the far broader issue of immigration into Italy from the Third World.

"On the problem of immigration, our position is very firm," said Marco Formentini, the leader of the league's parliamentary group. "We do not think that the country has structures for its own citizens, he said, "so it makes little sense to allow foreigners in."

Initially called the Lombard League, the organization was founded by Mr. Bossi with a few like-minded northerners in 1979. They took their name directly from the league of northern cities in the 12th and 13th centuries that rebelled against the Holy Roman emperors.

The party's appeal reflects a longstanding complaint among northerners: with 15 percent of the population, the industrialized, affluent Lombardy region provides 25 percent of the gross national product, pays 25 percent of the taxes but receives only 18 percent of the pie in state services while billions go unaccounted for in subsidies and other payouts to the Mafia-dominated, politically connected south.

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Vancouver Commitment

In the powerful symbolism of the Vancouver meeting, President Bill Clinton has now committed himself to direct and vigorous help for Russia's endangered democracy.

Trade can do more to encourage an open economy in Russia than any amount of aid the West can send.

Take a Look at Dumping

Shortly before leaving office, the Bush administration ordered a study to determine the impact of U.S. laws that provide for retaliation against unfair trade practices.

for isolated instances where the foreign company sold below cost, and ignore all the times it charged more.

Two Sick Democracies

Scandal is always a force in the public life of a country with a free press, and it is now dogging the people who run several of the big democracies.

minister in 1954 and has been prime minister seven times since then.

The Chamber Talks Back

Ever since 1912, when William Howard Taft asked a group of business leaders to form an umbrella group to represent American business interests, successive Republican administrations have counted on the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to build support for their economic programs.

And on issues such as relieving the credit crunch for small business and seeking ways to control health care costs, the White House and the business community find themselves sharing some ground.

Clinton Joins the Drive to Help Reform Win in Russia

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — "April is the cruelest month," wrote the poet T.S. Eliot, "mixing Memory and desire."

In the April that features the first global presidential campaign, Boris Yeltsin is reminding both his compatriots and former superpower competitors of the threat to freedom of neo-Soviet apparatchiks, while fanning the desire "to move from general assurances to pragmatic, specific acts."

'He put the fate of the Russian government into the hands of the people of Russia. That is a very great thing.'

a network of shallow-pocketed political leaders, cautious entrepreneurs and many of us gung-ho multimedia types. The immediate goal of the new FOM: without appearing intrusive, to help the Russian reformers win the April 23 referendum.

parley at the summit" — should be judged in the light of what it set out to do.

Before the referendum, Japan should drop its humiliating demand for the return of territory before joining in economic aid.

involved the rest of the industrial world in the Russian referendum.

Fourth, U.S. allies have argued against any strong U.S. action. The British and French, who have troops among the UN forces protecting Bosnia...

foreign aid, Mr. Clinton is expending little political capital in the bipartisan backing of Boris. The summit in the cruelest month was neither a test of diplomatic skill nor an exhibition of national nerve.



Clinton Could Rally Americans Behind Intervention in Bosnia

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — How far can Serbian leaders go in their contempt for the rules of international order without provoking a meaningful reaction from the U.S. government?

Those questions are raised by Serbian conduct in recent days. It has been increasingly brazen, increasingly contemptuous of United Nations orders and world hand-wringing. The Serbs have stopped trying to conceal their belief that the United Nations are paper tigers.

—unification — with Serbia itself. The Serbs broke a cease-fire to resume shelling Srebrenica, one of the last towns in eastern Bosnia held by the Bosnian government forces.

Several factors have held him back from real action. First, public opinion is not in favor of U.S. involvement in the conflict.

Fourth, U.S. allies have argued against any strong U.S. action. The British and French, who have troops among the UN forces protecting Bosnia...

not the brave Partisans of World War II. They are cowards who kill women and children.

Let's Hear From the Military: How Many Troops for How Long?

By Simon King

LANCASTER, England — The debate on military intervention in Bosnia is at cross-purposes. The case in favor is always couched in normative terms, stressing legal, moral or strategic grounds for stopping Serbian aggression, while the case against points only to practical difficulties in doing so.

It is also dangerous because it leads to warped judgment. Since everybody understands the moral or political imperatives on one side, and too few care about the military practicalities on the other, a bias against realism is created. This can lead, as in Vietnam, to all-around tragedy.

page by the article "Into a Balkan Quagmire? Take a Closer Look" (Opinion, March 9) by J. P. Mackley, which concluded that the Serbs are "not very good militarily" and unlikely to offer serious opposition to an intervening force.

ments, casualty risks and assessment of the situation after the conflict.

It would not have to be highly detailed or comprehensive as to mission accomplishment, but it would have to expand on the key issues: How many men, for how long, at what cost, and with what degree of risk?

Stop Waffling: Commit Western Forces

THE issue is what is happening today — now — as Bosnian Muslims are killed or driven out of their homes into the snow on what become death marches for all but the hardest.

Muslim women are mass-raped in a programmed campaign, reminiscent of the Mengele experiments at Auschwitz, to change the race of their offspring, to inject Serbian blood into their Islam-contaminated bodies.

It is dangerous first because a vital issue is at stake. Outraged public opinion is bound to ask what the point is of maintaining a strong military capability in Europe, at enormous cost, if wholesale rape and murder can take place with impunity only an hour's flight time from Munich.

The statement that no Serbian unit could complete successfully with a U.S. equivalent, undoubtedly true on the level playing field of a training center, is false in the context of operations conducted in forested and mountainous terrain, by partisans wholly familiar with it, fighting alien opponents.

It is easier to express this suggestion in terms of U.S. civil-military relations because they are very much more open. American culture (as on many issues) having moved so much further down the path of meeting the challenges of democracy.

It is harder to translate it into (for example) the British context, where the military should be conditioned to the sentences appropriate to civil servants. But the need for such a solution is equally pressing in Europe, where public opinion is equally vociferous and underinformed, and military doctrine much further behind the veil.

Increase Outside Pressure on the Serbs

I AGREE that keeping people alive through humanitarian relief is not a full answer, though it is better than letting them die. The Security Council, the European Community, the new American administration and, with difficulty, the Russians support Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance in what they are attempting — a plan which would enable Bosnians to live together in one country divided into provinces while respecting the autonomy of the different communities.

The plan will not work without pressure. The main obstacle is the Bosnian Serbs, backed by Belgrade. They face economic sanctions which have produced a 9,000 percent inflation rate. We have now agreed to the enforcement of the no-fly zone and are contributing to it. We are pursuing in New York and elsewhere the tightening of existing sanctions and the imposition of a final round.

The essential problem is the non-public character of military planning, which prevents military considerations from exercising their proper weight on the public mind. This is the result of outmoded civil-military relations, by which the civil power decides on the need for military action and the military takes responsibility for conducting it.

1893: Poet's Middle Age LONDON — Algernon Charles Swinburne's fifty-third birthday occurred yesterday (April 5). It is perhaps almost saddest in one way to reflect that, unlike Keats and Shelley, he has had to submit to middle age, but Mr. Swinburne, though he has left long behind him the little bursts which shocked the "Mint Grundy" of the seventies, has lost none of the fire of his youth.

1918: Praising the Press FRENCH BATTLEFRONT — Well-organized Associated Press correspondent and other war correspondents on the French battlefield, General Foch to-day (April 4) expressed the hope that they would continue their work for the interests of the common cause of the Allies, and then spoke to them of the situation. He said, "All is going well. Look at the small advances made by the Boches, to call them by their real name, on March 27, 28 and 30. It is now April 4 and it is clearly evident that the tidal wave of the German armies has been broken on the shore. Now they are against an embankment — completely stopped."

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OPINION

When the 'Experts' Fight, Journalists Are Umpires

By Richard Harwood

WASHINGTON — Walter Lippmann had no faith in the ability of journalists to compose accurate pictures of the world in which we live.

The problem is endemic when the environment or health is involved.

luc, the Bureau of the Census, the National Center for Health Statistics, the National Institutes of Health, the National Science Foundation, the Bureau of Economic Analysis and the Central Intelligence Agency.

Private think tanks, university, state and local research and statistical institutions have evolved along parallel lines.

All of these institutions, public and private, are accessible to journalists. They have enlarged and enriched our understanding of the world and have raised the quality of the information we publish and broadcast.

But in some ways they have sown confusion and made our lives more difficult. When, as often, "experts" disagree and war among themselves, whose "facts" and "truths" are we to rely on?

President Bill Clinton relies on one set of experts to justify a spending increase of \$9 billion over the next five years on the Head Start program for impoverished children of preschool age.

government is already spending more than \$16 billion a year on such programs and they are ineffective.

The problem is endemic when environmental and health issues are involved. "Experts say." The New York Times reported last week, "that over the last 15 years environmental policy has too often evolved largely in reaction to popular panics, not in response to sound scientific analyses."

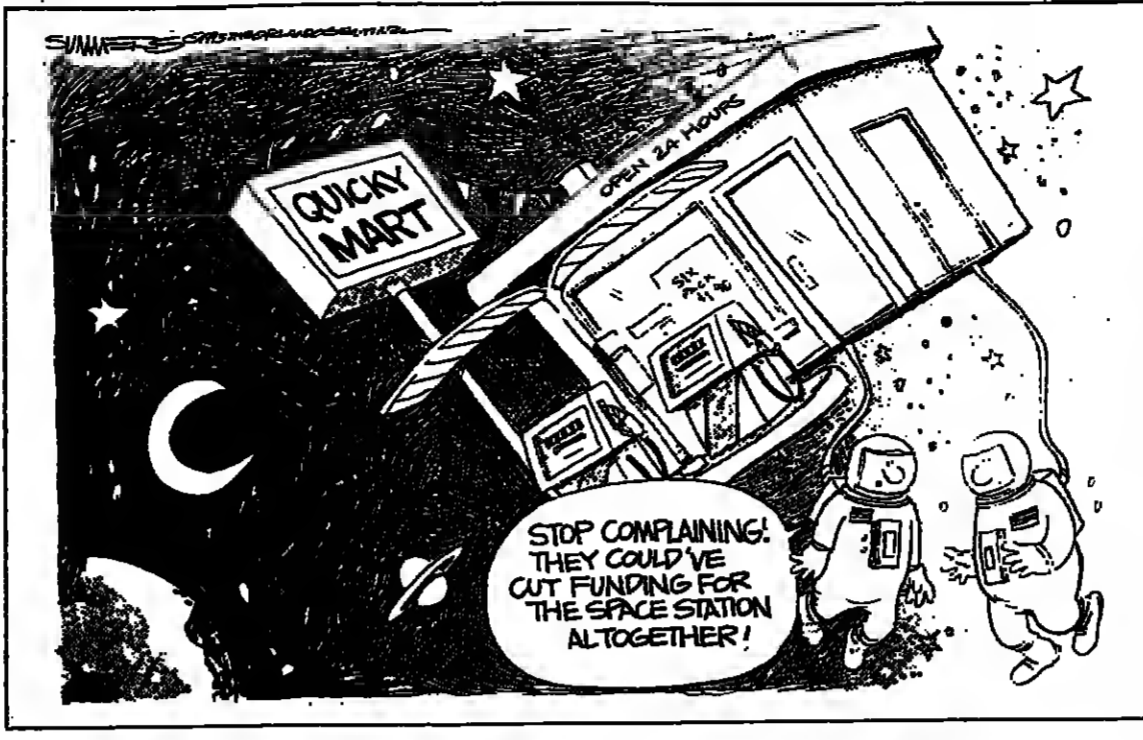
Billions have been wasted, according to the New York Times and the experts it quotes, on needless asbestos removal projects and the cleanup of toxic dumps and tainted soils that pose no threat to human health.

Experts at the Occupational Safety and Health Administration have ruled that ordinary beach sand may cause cancer because it contains silica.

Women have been worried in recent years by what appeared to some experts to be an "epidemic" of breast cancer.

The popular belief, fed by the media and some expert criminologists, that America is experiencing an unprecedented crime wave may likewise be a "statistical illusion."

The esteemed reporter Bob Woodward remarked recently that one of the most important tasks for journalists today is to improve the quality of the information we publish and broadcast.



Holding On to a Little Bit Of the Island He Loves

By Paul Spencer Sochaczewski

KUSAIE, Micronesia — In the beginning, there was subsistence. The fertile islands and rich seas surrounding what is now the Federated States of Micronesia in the western Pacific provided people with breadfruit, yams, taro, bananas, coconuts and fish.

Then came the foreigners. American whalers brought smallpox, which nearly ended the tale. American missionaries brought guilt. Germans and Japanese successively controlled the islands. And during the Cold War, American military

ditional values and lifestyles. We know that people can live without Coke, stereos and new cars. But we also know that people rarely give up voluntarily whatever "fruits of development" they enjoy.

There is, nevertheless, a strong traditionalist movement in Micronesia, particularly on Kusaie and Yap. The former has implemented a comprehensive review of development, the latter is planning a similar law. Gerson Jackson, head of the Kusaie Office of Budget and Planning, for example, wants to do all he can to ensure that "Kusaie remains Kusaie."

MEANWHILE

types who spoke in terms of "spheres of influence" brought big, easy money. Specifically, through an accord called the Compact of Free Association, Micronesia granted the United States exclusive military access throughout its vast territory (a myriad of small islands dotting the ocean), while Washington agreed to underwrite development.

The U.S. contribution, which averages about \$90 million a year and constitutes some 90 percent of external aid, pays for roads, telecommunications and airports. It also buys, at least indirectly, a lot of soft drinks, beer and imported rice, since at least two-thirds of Micronesian workers hold government-related jobs.

What happens then? Cold turkey time. As Bernard Helgenberger, a Pohnpei islander who is secretary for resources and development in the federal government of Micronesia, notes: "People have been taken care of for so many years that they're used to it."

The economic options most people talk about are fishing, tourism, light industry and agriculture. Each is possible, but each comes with its own challenges. Micronesia's territorial waters are rich with tuna, and the country earned nearly \$15 million in 1990 by licensing fishing rights to Japan, the United States and Australia.

Yet questions remain about whether processed fish from Micronesia will be competitive on world markets and whether Kusaie Islanders will be willing to take the 1,000 smelly, unpleasant jobs. On Yap Island, few locals wanted to work in the garment factory that planners had hoped would be a major revenue and job spinner.

But an alternative to development is being considered in Micronesia: to stabilize the population and reinforce tra-

ditional values and lifestyles. We know that people can live without Coke, stereos and new cars. But we also know that people rarely give up voluntarily whatever "fruits of development" they enjoy.

There is, nevertheless, a strong traditionalist movement in Micronesia, particularly on Kusaie and Yap. The former has implemented a comprehensive review of development, the latter is planning a similar law. Gerson Jackson, head of the Kusaie Office of Budget and Planning, for example, wants to do all he can to ensure that "Kusaie remains Kusaie."

His vision depends largely on the success of a resource management program for the island. It is the only conservation bill in Micronesia to cover not only water, land and air but also history and culture. The legislation establishes a development review commission to oversee "the wise use and protection of Kusaie's resources, balancing the needs of economic and social development with those of environmental quality and respect for our traditional ways."

But the crunch of conscience is fast approaching. The commission must soon decide whether to approve a Japanese retirement community and golf course, a Japanese hotel catering to Japanese divers, and an Australian hotel, among other projects. "It's only a principle," he says, "when it costs you money."

Which group will win? Those who are willing to "develop" in order to continue to enjoy Western comforts or the traditionalists who like things pretty much the way they are?

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Defending Macroeconomics

Regarding "Economists of the Macro Sort Don't Do Much Good" (Opinion, March 25) by Robert M. Dunn Jr.:

The author claims that economics is of little practical use and that this applies especially to the so-called macroeconomics. Preposterous.

Macroeconomics is perhaps the most applied of the social sciences, almost like medicine among the physical sciences. The first three Nobel Prize winners in economics were macroeconomists. Two of them, Jan Tinbergen and Paul Samuelson, made major contributions to, respectively, economic development and stabilization policies. All of them have left their marks in the development of the tools necessary for practical applications.

Indeed, other social scientists envy us macroeconomists the ability to say something that is of direct practical use. They can testify that macroeconomics deserves at least some credit for the enormous progress we have achieved in the post-Keynesian, postwar period in terms of raising per capita income and preventing major fluctuations like the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Of course some macroeconomics is more abstract, but that is a necessary building block for the applied work much as, say, quantum mechanics or molecular chemistry provides the background needed for practical medicine.

And, of course, there are some contributions that most macroeconomists would also regard as aberrations. The author of the article has aptly chosen what is probably the worst case of macroeconomics quackery, namely that of the so-called Laffer Curve, invented by

Arthur Laffer, the apologist for Reaganomics. Economists generally regard this as merely laughable.

FRANCO MODIGLIANI, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The writer received the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science in 1983.

Different Wars

We learned a hard lesson in Vietnam. Did we learn a different kind of lesson in Iraq? Do we now fight only when painless victory is assured?

I opposed the war in Vietnam. I doubted the sincerity of President George Bush's rhetoric on the war in Iraq. But I would volunteer to fight in Bosnia.

D. C. HODGE, Frankfurt.

Productivity at Work

Regarding "Cheap Labor, Cheap Fruit, But Is That a Free Market?" (Letters, Feb. 26) from K. Dixon-Flye:

The writer repeats old stereotypes. Why is the Latin America banana cheaper? In the first place, because of productivity. While a hectare (2.5 acres) of banana produced in Africa averages 17 metric tons per year, in Latin America that average is 40 tons. So a fruit of lower quality, like the one originating from the African plantations, may cost double the one being produced in America.

These banana workers and their organizations, by their daily struggle, have

secured, on the one hand, greater productivity and, on the other, better lives and labor conditions for themselves and their families. In general terms, the banana worker enjoys stable employment during the whole year, his income is above the legal minimum, he enjoys housing facilities, basic health services and elementary education for his children. These are goals yet to be obtained in almost all other areas of the agricultural economy to Latin America.

ANTONIO RESTREPO, Communications Manager, Unión de Países Exportadores de Banano, Panama City.

A Message on Guns

Regarding "Guns: Stop the Carnage, Ban the Damn Things" (Meanwhile, March 25) by Molly Ivins:

Ms. Ivins hit the mark. The pro-gun lobby in America conveniently overlooks the restrictive clause in the Second Amendment to the Constitution ("A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state...").

Let us hope that the gun owners will be able to make the amendment 100 times. PHILIP E. RAKITA, Tokyo.

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WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 29-30, 1993

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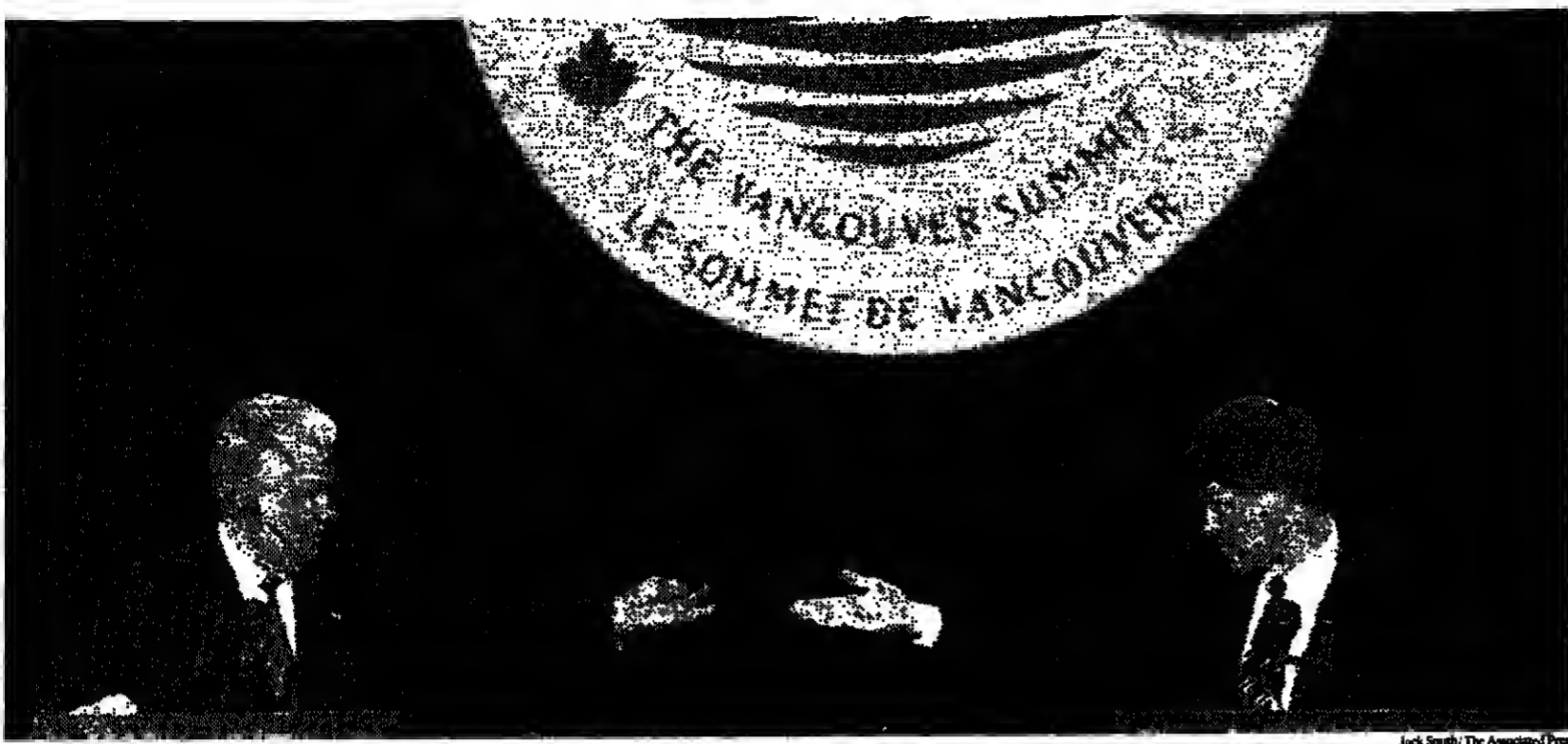
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AFTER THE SUMMIT / NOW THE EUROPEANS



Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Clinton at the postsummit news conference. The two leaders outlined their views of a new economic and political order for Russia.

EC, Too, Moves to Aid Russia Ministers Aim at a Possible Free-Trade Zone

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
LUXEMBOURG — European Community foreign ministers, a day after President Bill Clinton announced a new U.S.-Russian partnership, gave cautious endorsement Monday to gradual moves toward a free-trade zone with Russia.

It was agreed that moves toward a free-trade zone should be offered during current negotiations for a partnership agreement between the EC and Russia, a Danish spokesman said. Denmark currently holds the presidency of the EC.

It is a recognition by the Community that it must do what it can to contribute to the process of reform and democratization," said Sir Lester Brittan, the EC commissioner for trade relations.

The ministers agreed to expand the mandate for negotiating a partnership agreement to grant Russia most-favored nation trade status and, eventually, free trade.

Ministers decided to sidestep potential issues that could have delayed the decision to be able to come up with a swift reaction following the U.S.-Russian summit meeting Sunday. At the meeting, Mr. Clinton said the world democracies had a "high duty" to provide assistance to Moscow.

The new EC move would open the way for close trade relations similar to those it has with the Baltic republics and some other East European countries.

The accord would not apply to other former Soviet republics yet, officials said.

There is also some resistance within the EC to opening markets too much to Russia for fear the EC may soon be flooded with cheap imports. Germany, Britain and Denmark, which wanted to broaden the EC offer, faced resistance from France and Spain.

The EC Commission imposed provisional anti-dumping duties on imports of low-carbon ferrochrome from Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan. It also announced it would investigate anti-dumping complaints of aluminum exports from all 15 former republics of the Soviet Union.

The Japanese government's chief spokesman said Monday that Japan was planning its own aid to Russia, and reports indicated the

amount of new assistance could be several billion dollars.

A Japanese Foreign Ministry official said that Japan's new bilateral aid would be comparable to the U.S. figure. Kyodo News Service reported that the G-7 ministerial meeting would produce a package totaling \$30 billion to multilateral and bilateral aid. It said Japan's contribution would be the largest of the seven nations, reaching several billion dollars.

(AFP, Reuters, AP)

■ Germans Unimpressed
Germany, which has provided more than half of all Western aid to Russia, appeared unimpressed by President Clinton's promise of \$1.6 billion for Moscow, Reuters reported from Bonn.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl issued a four-page statement Monday pledging support for President Boris N. Yeltsin's reforms but did not mention Mr. Clinton's weekend aid package. Economics Minister Günther Rexrodt said the U.S. offer was "a good start."

Vancouver Message: New World Agenda Opens

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Service
VANCOUVER, British Columbia — After more than 30 years of bilateral summit meetings that seized the attention of the world, Washington and Moscow have just changed the subject.

President Bill Clinton and President Boris N. Yeltsin began a process of summit consultations whose main agenda and central focus were the economic and political future of Russia and its place in a world dominated by a global market. This is fundamentally different from the Cold War agenda of bipolar military and ideological confrontation that threatened armed conflict and global annihilation.

Mr. Clinton made the point repeatedly in public, as did Mr. Yeltsin in their private meetings, that a long-term program of U.S. and international assistance — not a quick fix — was essential if Russia was to be brought out of chaos and into a new relationship with other nations. How to forge such a relationship is now the most pressing issue of international life and is likely to be so for years.

By making at least a tentative, sometimes touchy, start on dealing with the new agenda, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Yeltsin this weekend were, in a real sense, present at the re-creation of the international system, just as

President Harry S. Truman's secretary of state, Dean Acheson, and the statesmen of an earlier generation were, in Mr. Acheson's famous phrase, present at the creation of the Cold War.

In an era in which global economics is all-important and, as Mr. Yeltsin said, "everything that happens in the world is interlinked," this is an imposing and difficult

undertaking. Both Mr. Clinton and Mr. Yeltsin have less power over economic developments than their predecessors had over military forces and weaponry. In the economic field, there is no equivalent of the nuclear launch "button."

For someone who had observed the first bilateral post-World War II summit meeting — between Dwight D. Eisenhower and Nikita S. Khrushchev in 1959 — and nine Washington-Moscow summit meetings after that, the weekend in Vancouver was among the strangest of all.

From Mr. Khrushchev, who larded his public and private talk with chest-thumping and crude threats about the potential uses of his newly tested space rockets, through Mikhail S. Gorbachev, who bargained about nuclear warheads and space defense systems to suspenseful sessions with Presidents Ronald

Reagan and George Bush, instruments of war were the currency of past meetings.

This time, the focus was very different. "Trade and investment are the moral equivalent of the military confrontation," a White House official said.

The defense ministers and the military chiefs of staff stayed home, their places at the table taken for the first time by finance ministers.

The long working dinner Saturday of Mr. Clinton and Mr. Yeltsin and their teams of advisers resonated not with talk of multiple warheads and land-based versus sea-based nuclear missiles, but with discussion of the dispute between the Kremlin and the Russian Central Bank, which is not under Mr. Yeltsin's control. Another key topic, U.S. officials said, was Mr. Yeltsin's prospects in the April 25 national referendum, on which his immediate future hangs, and his resolve to barnstorm his vast country, U.S. campaign-style, to win the vote.

It is by no means unprecedented or surprising for an embattled leader such as Mr. Yeltsin to seek to use a summit meeting for his political advantage. President Richard Nixon went to Moscow in June 1974, while threatened with possible impeachment over the Watergate scandal. Mr. Gorbachev, similarly, made much of his meetings with Mr. Bush in Helsinki, Paris, London and Madrid when it was clear that the Soviet leader's

power was slipping away. Those meetings didn't help much on the crucial domestic front in the Soviet Union.

In today's new circumstances, as Mr. Clinton made clear, the role of international institutions such as the Group of Seven industrialized democracies will be more important to the development of Russia than that of the United States alone. In this sense, the Washington-Moscow summit meeting may be an anachronism whose time of greatness has passed.

The United States remains, however, the leader of the G-7 process, as it does of other international institutions. Mr. Gorbachev was uncomfortable as an invited supplicant at the July 1991 London meeting of the G-7 leaders, whose failure to help him may have been a factor in encouraging the attempted coup in Moscow a month later. Mr. Yeltsin was not an impressive figure as a guest at the G-7 summit meeting in Munich in July.

The message of this U.S.-Russia summit meeting is that Washington, at least, hopes for a much more important role for Russia and its new economic and political institutions within the G-7 and other global institutions, and that Mr. Clinton will do what he can to achieve this goal. If the Vancouver summit meeting represented even the beginning of such a shift, it will have been a historic meeting.

NEWS ANALYSIS

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SUMMIT: Was the Risk for Both Leaders Worth It?

(Continued from page 1)
about Mr. Clinton's new assertiveness on aid.

But with the Clinton administration committed to helping Moscow, even Japan, which has been the strongest holdout, will have to rethink its position about assistance to Russia in time to help Mr. Yeltsin, according to U.S. and European officials.

Despite their governments' guarded public tone, European officials privately brimmed with praise for the way Mr. Clinton, in explaining his decision to start providing aid, managed to stake out a new stance toward Russia.

His message was, astutely, one of "support for Boris Yeltsin because he personifies the reform process in Russia, not because of who he is," a British diplomat said.

In other words, Mr. Clinton is willing to gamble on Mr. Yeltsin as long as the Russian leader seems

headed toward more democracy and more market economics. The unspoken corollary is that U.S. policy could be reversed if the political tide turns in Moscow.

The new U.S. view — that Mr. Yeltsin, even if he stumbles, is moving in the right direction — seems bound to pry more generous aid and other concessions from allied nations and multilateral bodies.

For example, the International Monetary Fund, which controls the largest aid packages for Russia, is susceptible to American pressure, European officials said.

In return, the United States can expect to maintain and even broaden the outlook for political cooperation on international problems. For example, Mr. Yeltsin said in Vancouver that he now saw eye-to-eye with Mr. Clinton on the way to seek a solution to the crisis in Bosnia.

This shift, U.S. officials said, reflects the importance of a change in U.S. policy in recent weeks as the Clinton administration came to grips with the crisis in Russia.

Under the Bush administration, U.S. policy pinned its hopes for a long time on the Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev. When he fell, the White House, wary of making the same mistake with his successor, seemed to make aid wait for reforms to succeed.

Instead, the Clinton administration, by pledging to help a process, however risky, hopes to send a broader political message to Russia.

U.S. aid is bound to be attacked by Mr. Yeltsin's opponents as evidence that he is doing Washington's bidding, but by gambling now on change, Washington can hope that Russians will view U.S. help as a friendly gesture, not a payoff for services rendered.

Washington scrambled Monday to calm ruffled Japanese feelings after President Bill Clinton was quoted as telling President Boris N. Yeltsin that Japan did not always mean what it said.

The State Department said Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher had called a senior Japanese official to explain the context of the remark, which was widely interpreted as a warning not to trust Japan.

The comment became public when some notes in Russian from one of Mr. Clinton's weekend meetings with Mr. Yeltsin were obtained by news organizations. Mr. Clinton apparently made the comment to a discussion about the Kuril Islands, which the Soviet Union seized from Japan at the end of World War II.

Mr. Clinton was quoted as telling Mr. Yeltsin that "yes" often means "no" when uttered by the Japanese.

The chief White House spokesman, George Stephanopoulos, said Mr. Clinton "was actually reassuring President Yeltsin at the time about his conversations with Prime Minister Miyazawa over the Kuril Islands." He added, "I mean this was a casual comment about Japanese courtesy and etiquette."

Azerbaijani presidential press service. There were no other details.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Self-Defense Headquarters said Armenians captured hills on the border between the Kelbajar enclave and the Fizuli district late last week. It said Azerbaijani troops had been shelling Nagorno-Karabakh from those positions.

Azerbaijan has accused the Russian 7th Army, based in Armenia, of helping capture Kelbajar. The Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry said this "casts doubt" on Russia's support for efforts by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to mediate an end to the fighting.

The Russian Foreign Ministry denied the involvement of Russian troops and reiterated support for "an early settlement."

Armenian troops controlled the hills surrounding the regional capital, also known as Fizuli, and killed 20 civilians in heavy artillery and missile fire, officials said.

Officials in Nagorno-Karabakh denied the attack on Fizuli, despite increasingly detailed reports from the Azerbaijani side.

Any increased involvement by Turkey on behalf of Azerbaijan probably would be condemned by its NATO partners. Some observers warned that it would also be an invitation for Iraq, which has suspended its mediation role in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, to expand its role in the region.

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U.S. Tries to Soothe Tokyo After Remark by Clinton

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YELTSIN: Selling the Gains

(Continued from page 1)
understood that the West, itself pressed for cash, could only do so much to help.

"But I'm afraid the West has no clear idea of how to assist us," Mr. Bogomolov said. "Many Western experts and leaders and journalists don't properly understand what's going on here. This support for Mr. Yeltsin personally can turn out to be counterproductive."

Everyone who criticizes Mr. Yeltsin's economic and political policies "must not be considered a revanchist, apparatus or Communist," said Mr. Bogomolov, a former Yeltsin adviser.

The Congress of People's Deputies had many problems, he said. "But it's not completely anti-reformist. The main power is the centerists who do not fear reforms, but disagree with Yeltsin's version. When the West shuts its eyes to Yeltsin's idea of shutting down the legislature, we get suspicious of Western intentions."

In Vancouver, in a sound bite chosen for the 8 P.M. news, Mr. Yeltsin stressed the "reality" of the \$1.6 billion in new grants and loans provided by Mr. Clinton; that was a point underlined by the newspaper Izvestia, which is firmly behind Mr. Yeltsin.

Had he returned to Moscow "with empty hands or with long-term promises," his political position before the crucial test of the referendum would have suffered significantly," Izvestia said.

"But Yeltsin is not coming back with empty hands," the paper said, referring to the American program as an example of "realism, implementability and urgency," closely linked to particular industries and more open markets.

Mr. Yeltsin did not want to be seen to sell out to the West, and television coverage Monday night indicated that he had succeeded.

The tone of reportage was respectful: a "successful summit," but "no sensations, no surprises." Mr. Clinton was credited with providing "the maximum he could without congressional approval."

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On Petrovka Street, Flora Belarova, 24 and unemployed, was unimpressed. She had heard about news said, "But as I understand, the West has already given us a lot of aid, and I haven't noticed any real results," she said.

Turkey Moves to Shield Faltering Azerbaijanis

ANKARA — Turkey closed its airspace Monday to all flights to Armenia, and President Turgut Ozal said his country should "bare its teeth" in reaction to Armenia's escalated offensive against Azerbaijan.

The Turkish Foreign Ministry summoned the ambassadors of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and requested that the council discuss measures to safeguard the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan.

Armenian troops last weekend captured 90 percent of Azerbaijan's western Kelbajar region, a mountainous strip of land about 100 kilometers (60 miles) long and nine to 50 kilometers wide.

The victory gave Armenia a second corridor into the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh. The mostly Armenian enclave is surrounded by Azerbaijan and was under Azerbaijani control before the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Turkey has close ethnic and cultural ties to Azerbaijan and has been unsuccessfully trying to mediate the five-year dispute that has claimed more than 3,000 lives and left tens of thousands homeless.

Mr. Ozal, touring the Muslim republics of Central Asia, was quoted Monday by the Hurriyet newspaper as saying that "Turkey should bare its teeth" against Armenia and adopt a hard-line stance.

"One has to be a bit firm with them," Mr. Ozal told the newspaper. "First you call their representatives, shout a bit, and then take a hard-line stance," Mr. Ozal said.

"If a military intervention in the future will be worse, then something should be done now," he said. But he gave no indication as to what additional measures Turkey would take.

"Turkey has exerted great efforts to mediate and settle this issue," he added, "but our soft approach backfired in every instance."

Mr. Ozal softened his remarks at a news conference later in Tashkent, saying only that "Turkey will do everything necessary" to end the conflict.

Azerbaijan accused Armenia of trying to capture another key region bordering Nagorno-Karabakh. Azerbaijan government officials said Armenia opened a new attack on the Fizuli region, south of Nagorno-Karabakh and 25 kilometers

from Azerbaijan's border with Iran.

Armenian troops controlled the hills surrounding the regional capital, also known as Fizuli, and killed 20 civilians in heavy artillery and missile fire, officials said.

Officials in Nagorno-Karabakh denied the attack on Fizuli, despite increasingly detailed reports from the Azerbaijani side.

Any increased involvement by Turkey on behalf of Azerbaijan probably would be condemned by its NATO partners. Some observers warned that it would also be an invitation for Iraq, which has suspended its mediation role in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, to expand its role in the region.

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For Want of Pronoun, All Was Almost Lost At Summit Dinner

By Maureen Dowd
New York Times Service
VANCOUVER, British Columbia — The affable Boris and Bill Show nearly collapsed in a fit of hurt feelings over a misunderstood pronoun.

At a trendy Vancouver restaurant called Seasons, overlooking the beautiful harbor, the two leaders sipped chardonnay, ate Dungeness crab ravioli and broiled salmon and talked business.

Discussing what the United States could do for Russia, including setting up a commission on energy and space and cooperation on the environment, President Bill Clinton repeatedly said that he would put the vice president in charge of this or that.

With his translator whispering in his ear, President Boris N. Yeltsin grew more surly and tight lipped as each program was delegated to the vice president.

Mr. Clinton knew something was wrong, but wasn't sure what, until Mr. Yeltsin made it clear that he thought the American president was assigning many important projects to that other vice president, Alexander V. Rutskoi, who is Mr. Yeltsin's bitter rival.

Mr. Clinton laughed in relief that the problem was only in the translation, and reassured Mr. Yeltsin. "Gora, Gora."

Then they happily moved on to the blueberry tart.

□

A Hollywood touch could be seen in the staging of the many photo opportunities at the summit meeting, compliments of Mori Engelberg, the Hollywood producer of the hit movie "Smoky and the Bandit," who is a White House consultant.

Mr. Engelberg got the award for most ingenious advance work when he had the leaders pose on a stunning promontory at the University of British Columbia, without telling anyone that below was a nude beach.

"That's only in the summer," Mr. Engelberg protested.

But according to a policeman on the scene, a sign announcing the "Clothing Optional" beach had been covered by "a tree that mysteriously appeared" overnight.

It was not known whether the two leaders ever learned about their racy photo site, but it lends a funny double entendre to their conversation about the harbor, as interpreted by the official translator.

Mr. Yeltsin, looking down at the beach, referring to his foreign minister, observed, "Kozirev likes to go swimming in a swimming pool, but I think this is much better."

Mr. Clinton replied, "Much better. We'll send him down there."

Mr. Engelberg also gets credit for the picturesque walk in the woods that followed.

□

The last word between the two democrats came after their news conference, when Mr. Clinton shook Mr. Yeltsin's hand and said, "You can shake the hand of someone who didn't vote for you."

The American president pumped the Russian president's hand twice, and urged him, "Win! Win!"

□

Speaking to the Russian reporters after the news conference, Mr. Clinton was asked to compare his attitude about Russia with George Bush's.

"Let me say I do not wish to compare myself," he said. "I can't say what was in his heart about Russia." But he added that he had long been "personally fascinated" by Russian history, culture, music, ballet and literature.

He said "one of most moving experiences" of his life was when he heard Leonard Bernstein conduct Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony for Russians, and "it had never played so fast before, because it was technically so difficult."

For all these reasons, he said, he hoped for a "closer partnership" with the other democrat.

Mr. Clinton was credited with providing "the maximum he could without congressional approval."

The final summit press conference was televised live in Moscow while most people slept. It was repeated Monday afternoon on Channel 1, transmitted throughout the former Soviet Union, and there was an 18-minute excerpt after the news Monday night on the Russian channel.

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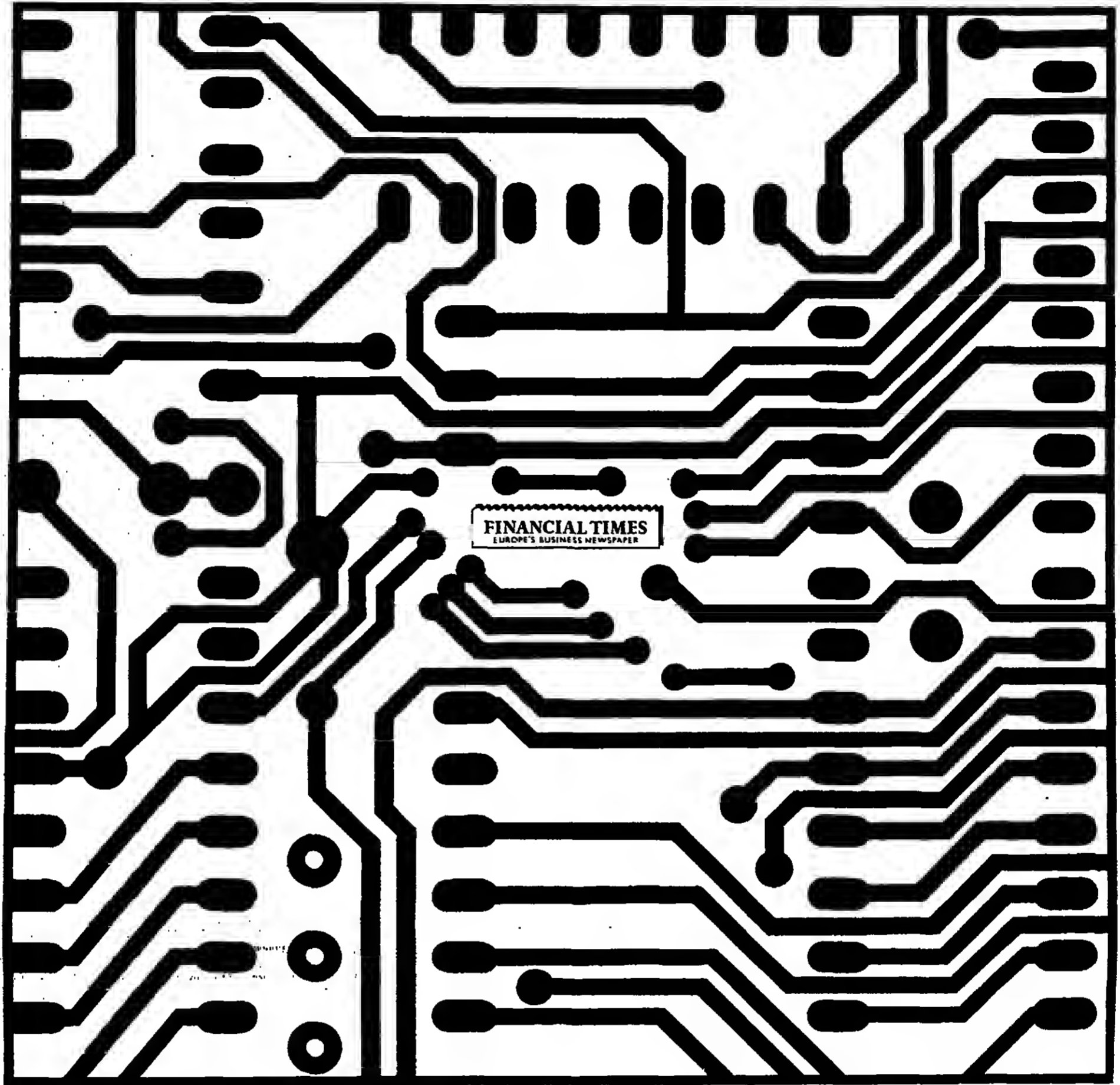
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Style

Style

Off the Runway, Beene's Voyage Into the Serene

NEW YORK — To show or not to show? That is the question that has been haunting the fashion season as designers often retreated from the blockbuster presentation. Geoffrey Beene, for the second season, gave a still-life exhibition — but his static display was vibrant with energy and a model of how to do these things.

Its location was an Asian cultural center, chosen to reinforce the serenity of clothes that were inspired by priest's outfits in Nepal. That translated as a vivid orange mohair coat, gossamer light, with a monk's hood, or an over-bolero cut in the round from one piece of fabric. The austere theme came through, too, in long robe-coats, slashed at the waist, or in matt jersey dresses, slithering on the bias across the body. Sometimes a slit as skinny as a medieval castle window opened at the midriff, or the plain surface was broken with mixes of fabric like stone-grey jersey butting black, or an insert of lace.

The presentation was made into an artistic happening by a background of photographs showing the outfits in movement and by boldly printed words giving food for thought. "Loop, cross, shift, clasp, slip, coil, plunge, fuse, are," they read. That might sound pretentious, but the clothes, based on a lightweight jacket, brief or long, and full clownish pants, were modern and practical. Short lace evening slips, although technically clever, seemed less interesting than the long soft, monastic dresses.

"There is too much going on in clothing," said Beene. "It is very distracting and this is the moment to express individuality. I wanted a serenity in the frantic world of fashion."

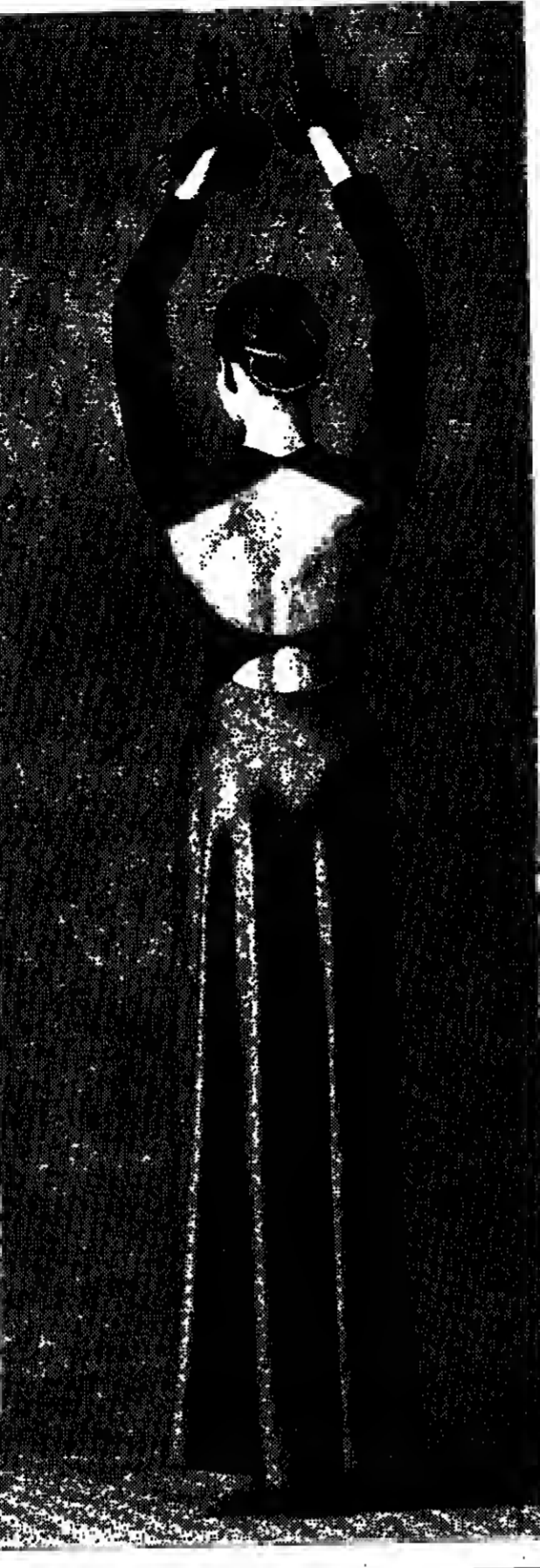
The downtown shows gave precisely the opposite impression. Attitude seemed more important than design at Isaac Mizrahi's show, where a star-studded audience shrieked over a finale of operatic Lucrezia Borgia gowns. Anna Sui's crowd included a six-foot drag queen in silver hot pants and a Heidi wig, who threatened to outshine the thrift-shop looking clothes.

Should Calvin Klein and Donna Karan ever have shown on the runway their lower-priced lines? These are now the focus of American shoppers — even *Vogue* has devoted its April issue to clothes from \$50 to \$500, which is radical check by glossy magazine standards.

The problem with the CK and DKNY lines was that they were just a tribute to stylists, who took the easy sportswear pieces and made them look obnoxious. The shows were great if you sincerely want to learn how to tie a shirt grunge-style around your waist or to layer Saturday-morning separates. Klein had all the young trends from apron dresses in denim or leather to deconstructed jeans with pockets hanging loose. The endless DKNY parade did the layering trick for men, women and kids. Separated from the melee, individual pieces from both collections seemed just fine.

But like many of the shows throughout the international collections, not least at Chanel with its flapping white shirts, stylists, not designers, now seem to rule the runways. And that is a moment when smart designers might think of another way to show.

Suzy Menkes



Attitude ruled at Mizrahi: At left, his Renaissance-print romper suit. Right, Klein's gauzy dress with shearling coat.

From Monastic to Romantic

By Suzy Menkes
International Herald Tribune

NEW YORK — Two strong shows expressing unequivocal attitudes toward modern women closed the international collections in New York. Calvin Klein's somber, spare clothes and Donna Karan's soulful romanticism made a fine ending to five weeks of fall-winter showings.

The different currents eddying through high fashion merged as the New York season drew to its close.

On the one side is a monastic simplicity — dark colors, attenuated shapes and a sense that the body and blatant sexuality are going under wraps. The other trend is a dandified silhouette and a focus on historical costume with tapestry, crushed velvet and ruffles. The fashion avant-garde favors the concealing layers; the more conventional (and commercial) give the same basic idea of length and layers a historical topsit with medieval damsel dresses, curving frock coats and swashbuckling greatcoats. The difference is summed up by the boots that dominate the runways: hefty combat boots in one camp and dainty Edwardian ankle boots or cavalier boots for the other.

Donna Karan's skill was in walking the line. Her dark gauzy clothes in black, gray flecks, eggplant and navy blue, the outfits slung with long chains of crosses, had a romantic melancholy. There was a hint of medieval costume in the high-waisted dress, with taut bodice and fragile shoulders, that Karan herself wore to take her bow. But these clothes were all rooted in reality in a way that is special to women designers.

FABRIC was the focus for Karan's new look. Soft pants that went under anything from an ankle-length vest to a tweedy knit cardigan were always in a fine wool gauge that gave a lightness and fluidity. The same fabric used for a high-waisted dress fluting out at the hem had a subtle hint of the flirtations. In spite of religious music on the sound track and those penitential crosses, a woman, Karan seemed to be saying, might not always choose the ordinary. Nor always choose to hide her legs. Although hemlines are not really a fashion issue (the trend is all downward) Karan showed a convincing short suit with a peppy skirt flaring out around the knee.

The collection flowed gently in long, soft layers: elongated ribbed tunics over long skirts; velvet tunics over gossamer-fine pants; thigh-length cardigans in portridgy knit for day and in lace decorated with jet embroidery for night. The day clothes moved seamlessly into evening, which, like everything Karan does, is a modern way to dress.

Calvin Klein is a modernist and he made a brutal but beautiful statement. Black, black, black were long jackets and pants, ankle-length knit dresses and maxi coats, the dark relieved only by a change of fabric, from knit to velvet. Slump, slump, slump went the combat boots from under thick soft layers, with crushed velvet ankle-length dresses or even a light geometric dress printed with pallid flowers. Not a scrap of makeup brushed the models' faces. But what faces! For Klein scattered among the new waifs Lauren Hutton and other famous models who have long since left the runways.

"It's a statement about how I feel about women," said Klein. "I believe that my clothes are right for young girls and for women. They



Donna Karan's cardigan over flecked tweed, with cross.

get more beautiful as they get older. They can wear the simplest clothes and the least amount of makeup and that is modern."

He was right. Although the show was somber, even negative in its sense of obliterating fashion as adornment, the quiet colors and simple shapes acted like a blank canvas for strong characters to paint their identities. That is an idea already proposed by Rei Kawakubo at Comme des Garçons and young European designers. But Klein's individual pieces — a tweed coat shrugged over a crushed-velvet dress or ribbed knits in oyster colors — were valid, even for those who might like to add a little artifice.

Between the two big-name designers was sandwiched the show of Richard Tyler, an Australian-born designer who made his name in California. His graceful clothes distilled the essence of the costume drama that has been playing on the international runways. There were dandies in frock coats, nicely cut with a curve in the tail, the elongated vests and riding coats, in an original tapestry print with a view-halloo hunting scene. After all the found-it-in-the-flea-market looks, Tyler's cleaned-up well-cut version of the same story looked fresh and appealing, even if his Empire dresses

seemed more Romeo Gigli than Empress Josephine.

The American season failed to reduce the ingredients of current fashion into a tasty broth, although Ralph Lauren's exceptional show on a Russian revolutionary theme was praised by all New York's powerful store directors. Many designers just flung out costume-party clothes.

"Ralph leaps out for his restraint," said Kalman Rottenstein of Bloomingdale's, who also praised Goodman and Karan. "The trouble with Victoriana is that it doesn't move fashion forward, it just shuffles it around a bit."

ROSE Marie Bravo, the president of Saks Fifth Avenue, described the entire international collections as "a season about flourishes — separate pieces like a fabulous jacket and plectated chiffon blouse at Lacroix and a long, black knitted vest at Anne Klein." She also praised Geoffrey Beene and stressed that legs were still on show "peeping out from under long jackets and tucked into boots."

"It's not about being head-to-toe, but about expressing yourself — playing games with costume one day and classic the next," she said. "I hope that women will have the courage to try to do their own thing."

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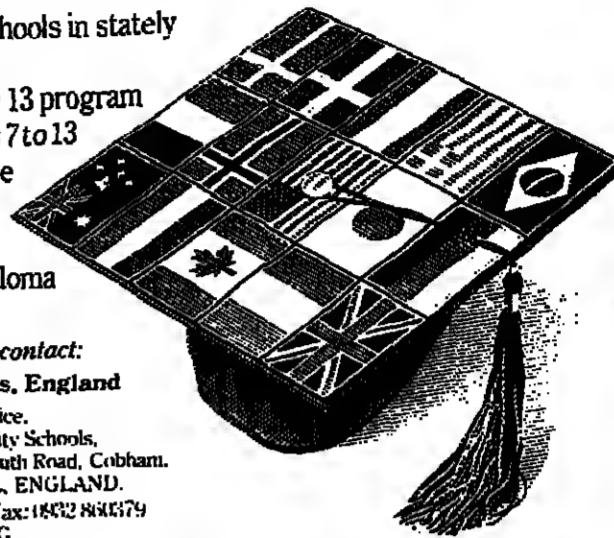
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NYSE

Monday's Closing
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

Symbol	Price	Change
IBM	115.25	+0.25
Microsoft	45.50	+0.25
Apple	42.00	+0.25
Oracle	38.00	+0.25
Sun	35.00	+0.25
Lucent	32.00	+0.25
Motorola	30.00	+0.25
AT&T	28.00	+0.25
Verizon	26.00	+0.25
WorldCom	24.00	+0.25
Sprint	22.00	+0.25
Qwest	20.00	+0.25
Level 3	18.00	+0.25
Southwest	16.00	+0.25
Delta	14.00	+0.25
American	12.00	+0.25
United	10.00	+0.25
Continental	8.00	+0.25
Allegiant	6.00	+0.25
JetBlue	4.00	+0.25
Spirit	2.00	+0.25

Symbol	Price	Change
Amazon	15.00	+0.25
Netflix	12.00	+0.25
Blockbuster	10.00	+0.25
Home Depot	8.00	+0.25
Walmart	6.00	+0.25
Target	4.00	+0.25
Kroger	2.00	+0.25
Costco	1.00	+0.25
Home Depot	0.50	+0.25
Walmart	0.25	+0.25
Target	0.10	+0.25
Kroger	0.05	+0.25
Costco	0.02	+0.25

Symbol	Price	Change
Google	20.00	+0.25
Facebook	18.00	+0.25
Twitter	16.00	+0.25
LinkedIn	14.00	+0.25
Slack	12.00	+0.25
Zoom	10.00	+0.25
Dropbox	8.00	+0.25
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OneDrive	4.00	+0.25
SharePoint	2.00	+0.25
Office 365	1.00	+0.25
Microsoft Dynamics	0.50	+0.25
SAP	0.25	+0.25
Oracle	0.10	+0.25
Sun	0.05	+0.25
IBM	0.02	+0.25

IBM shares rose 25 cents to \$115.25, while Microsoft climbed 25 cents to \$45.50. Apple, Oracle, Sun, Lucent, Motorola, AT&T, Verizon, WorldCom, Sprint, Qwest, Level 3, Southwest, Delta, American, United, Continental, Allegiant, and JetBlue all gained 25 cents.

Amazon.com advanced 25 cents to \$15.00, Netflix rose 25 cents to \$12.00, Blockbuster climbed 25 cents to \$10.00, Home Depot gained 25 cents to \$8.00, Walmart rose 25 cents to \$6.00, Target advanced 25 cents to \$4.00, Kroger climbed 25 cents to \$2.00, Costco rose 25 cents to \$1.00, Home Depot gained 25 cents to \$0.50, Walmart rose 25 cents to \$0.25, Target advanced 25 cents to \$0.10, Kroger climbed 25 cents to \$0.05, and Costco rose 25 cents to \$0.02.

Google shares rose 25 cents to \$20.00, Facebook climbed 25 cents to \$18.00, Twitter advanced 25 cents to \$16.00, LinkedIn rose 25 cents to \$14.00, Slack gained 25 cents to \$12.00, Zoom climbed 25 cents to \$10.00, Dropbox rose 25 cents to \$8.00, Evernote advanced 25 cents to \$6.00, OneDrive rose 25 cents to \$4.00, SharePoint gained 25 cents to \$2.00, Office 365 climbed 25 cents to \$1.00, Microsoft Dynamics rose 25 cents to \$0.50, SAP advanced 25 cents to \$0.25, Oracle rose 25 cents to \$0.10, Sun gained 25 cents to \$0.05, and IBM climbed 25 cents to \$0.02.

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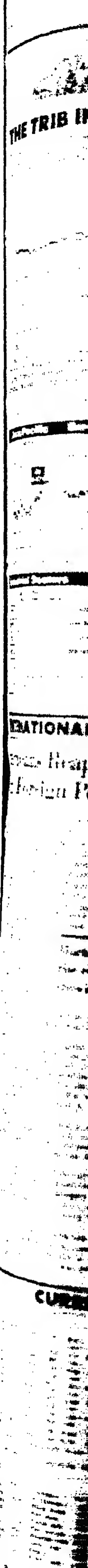
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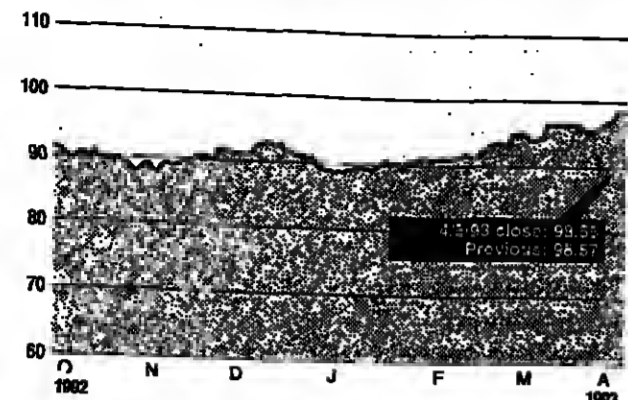
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Table with 3 columns: Asia/Pacific, Europe, N. America. Includes sub-tables for Industrial Sectors like Energy, Utilities, Finance, and Services.

INTERNATIONAL STOCKS

Americans Reaping Gains From Foreign Portfolios

NEW YORK — For the first time in four years, Americans who invested their dollars in foreign stocks in the first quarter instead of at home had cause to be satisfied. The quarter was characterized by falling interest rates in many industrialized countries, generally benign swings in the value of the dollar and a Japanese government-led surge on the Tokyo Stock Exchange...

Dunkel Says U.S. Delaying GATT

By Keith Bradsher New York Times Service GENEVA — An international trade agreement that would stimulate the shaky world economy is being delayed while the administration of President Bill Clinton devotes energy and negotiators to the North American Free Trade Agreement...

Concessions in the GATT negotiations, for example, could antagonize the textile industry and other business groups in the United States whose support is needed for the difficult struggle this fall of winning congressional approval of the North American agreement. In an effort to restart the world trade talks, which began in Uruguay in 1986, American and European officials plan to hold several meetings by early June...

Aiding Russia: First, Set the Rules Moscow's Lack of Commitment to Rights Deters Investors

WASHINGTON — "There's only one surefire business deal you can do in Moscow these days. It goes like this: I give you a lot of money, and you give me absolutely nothing in return." That comment from a disillusioned Western consultant — far more than any fine words from Yeltsin — goes to the heart of the problems facing the Russian economy. While Western governments set about preparing another Russian financial-aid package in the coming weeks, Russian economists say the way to save their devastated economy is through a huge influx of private investment. The problem is that other Russians are doing their best to prevent that from happening — by inventive combinations of private cheating, public corruption and endless varieties of arbitrary official obstructionism. One old Nigerian hand struggling with a Russian project says it's worse than doing business in many Third World countries. Unlike the Russians he deals with, he says, Third World officials usually understand that you kill the goose that lays the golden egg if you don't let foreign investors keep some of the profit. Russian economists interviewed for this column all said that, given that Western official aid would do little more than scratch the surface of Russia's problems, the top priority must be to create the right conditions for business to start operating. "We must break through this psychological and economic threshold," says Alexander Telyukov of the Russian Economic Ministry's Institute for Economic Studies. Unrealistic though it may be, Russians like to compare their plight with that of the former East Germany — at least for dramatic effect. Nobody seriously maintains that Russia can share Eastern Germany's aim of matching Western German living standards in the foreseeable future. But the figures give an idea of the enormity of Russia's task. According to German officials, by the end of 1993 the 17 million Eastern Germans will have received \$400 billion over four years from the German federal budget alone. They are due to get \$70 billion more for each of the next 10 years. By contrast, the Group of Seven is thinking of perhaps \$30 billion this year for nearly nine times as many Russians. Eastern Germany got more than twice that in Western German private investment alone last year. Non-German companies had chipped in an extra \$44 billion by the end of 1992. By that time, Russia had scraped together a pitiful \$1.5 billion in total foreign private investment, less than half the amount that went to Hungary or Poland, and a small fraction of China's, according to Vladimir Popov, head of research at the Academy of National Economy in Moscow. Obviously the main reason is that most Western companies simply don't believe that sound business conditions exist in Russia. Leaving aside the threat of hyperinflation, the biggest single drawback is the lack of a legal system protecting ownership rights, granting recourse against abuses and guaranteeing that profits can be sent home. Russians say there are ways around this, mainly by avoiding Moscow and looking for more sympathetic officials in the country's 88 regions. They want money to go to the sectors that could most easily become internationally competitive and start earning their own hard currency — notably oil, gas and mining, but also transport and communications, food, consumer goods, and the reconstruction of defense industries. But here is a cautionary tale from the White Nights project, a 50-50 Russian-American joint venture that represents the largest investment to date by any Western company in the Russian oil sector: In just over two years, White Nights has increased production

Firms Kill German Engineers' Pay Pact

COLOGNE — The national headquarters of the engineering employers' federation rejected Monday a compromise worked out in Saxony between IG Metall union negotiators and the local employers' group over pay increases in the East German engineering sector. Under the deal, which was aimed at settling a five-day-old dispute, workers were to get a 26 percent pay increase that had been promised for this month, and in exchange they were to delay their goal of pay equality with their Western German counterparts from April 1994 to January 1995, union officials said. "There is no chance of reaching an agreement on this basis," an official of the employers' organization, Dieter Kirchner, said. A spokesman, Werner Riek, said, "There is no change in the offer of 9 percent for 1993." Employers signed a deal with IG Metall in 1991 calling for a series of pay increases that would bring East German wages to parity with West German ones by April 1994. But the employers formally renounced the accord in February, saying shrinking order books and stagnant productivity left them unable to afford it. IG Metall launched a series of token strikes Thursday, bringing out about 100,000 workers. That protest was followed by a strike by 40,000 workers Friday, and the demonstrations were then called off until after the Easter holidays, which start at the end of this week. But the protests apparently succeeded in driving a wedge between employers with big, modern plants and those with small, run-down factories. Some of the biggest, such as the automakers Adam Opel, Daimler Benz and Volkswagen AG, had offered what they called "temporary" increases amounting to 26 percent annually for the month of April. (AFP, AFX)

Rising Yen to Buoy East Asia Economies

SINGAPORE — The sharp rise in the value of the yen, against the dollar and against other Asian currencies, will cause a new surge in Japanese investment, particularly in China and Southeast Asia, regional economists say. But a study by Japan's Nomura Research Institute predicts that the major beneficiaries of a stronger yen will be the newly industrialized economies of East Asia — South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore — whose exports will grab bigger shares of overseas markets as Japanese products become more costly. Nomura says the rise of about 10 percent in the value of the yen in the last year — much of which has come in just the last few weeks — should lift economic growth in those four countries by 1.6 percentage points as output and profits increase. Based on a 5 percent appreciation of the yen over the calendar year, Nomura forecasts 1993 growth, after inflation, of 7.5 percent for Singapore, 6.7 percent for South Korea, 6.3 percent for Taiwan and 5.4 percent for Hong Kong. C.H. Kwan, senior economist and head of Asian research for Nomura in Tokyo, said recent history showed that a rise of 1 percent in the yen's value against the dollar had raised economic growth rates in the four newly industrialized Asian economies by 0.16 of a percentage point, mainly because these countries compete with Japan in international markets. But, he said, research suggested that the opposite would occur in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, which do not compete much with Japan but depend heavily on it for imports. Analysts said the high-flying yen — which pulled back Monday from a record high of 113.30 to the dollar only after intervention by Japan's central bank — may help to narrow Japan's trade surpluses with other Asian nations this year as imports from Japan become more expensive and Japanese companies expand their manufacturing operations in other countries of the region. (Page 19) The surpluses, while not as large as those Japan has with the United States and the European Community, were becoming an irritant in its relations within Asia and prompting governments to demand that Japan open its markets more widely to their exports. The yen's latest strengthening in part reflects the belief that industrialized nations want a higher yen, to weaken Japan's exports and redress its politically sensitive trade imbalances. The U.S. trade deficit with Japan in 1992, at \$49.4 billion, was the largest since 1988 and accounted for 58.5 percent of the total American trade deficit for the year. The European Community's trade deficit with Japan in 1992 was \$31 billion, widened from \$28 billion in 1991 and \$19 billion in 1990. A flood of Japanese investment that followed a major strengthening of the yen after 1985 hastened growth and industrialization in Southeast Asia as Japanese manufacturing companies moved offshore to cut costs. But the weakness of the Japanese economy, combined with shortages of essential services and infrastructure and rising labor costs in such countries as Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia, caused a slowdown in Japanese investment in Southeast Asia in 1992. Raymond Foo, regional economist at Crosby Research Ltd. in Kuala Lumpur, said the yen's current rise also would prompt companies in Japan to expand production in Southeast Asia, both to cut costs and to reduce the trade surpluses with the United States and the EC. He said there were strong political and economic reasons for the yen to continue to rise to a level of 110 to the dollar by the end of 1993. Celina Lin, an analyst at Peregrine Brokerage Ltd. in Hong Kong, said that if the yen stabilized between 110 and 118 to the dollar, Japanese investment in the region, especially in China, would intensify in the next 18 months.

Mercedes to Build Auto Plant in U.S.

DEARBORN, Michigan — Mercedes-Benz AG said Monday that it would build a factory in the United States to make a sport-utility vehicle priced at \$20,000 to \$30,000, but said it had yet to pick a site. It will be two to three months before officials select a site, and Mercedes officials said the list of states where the plant might be located was longer than the list of those not being considered. Officials also would not rule out the possibility of using an existing U.S. auto plant. Helmut Werner, vice chairman and chief operating officer of the company, gave no specifics except to say North and South Carolina had some advantage because the Daimler-Benz AG subsidiary Freightliner already had three North Carolina plants. Mr. Werner said it was a coincidence that Mercedes announced plans for the plant within a day of becoming the first German automaker with stock approved for trading on the New York Stock Exchange. He said there were no plans to count on capital raised in the United States to build the plant. He also denied that Monday's announcement, which confirmed weeks of speculation, was an attempt to start a bidding war by states. "We would not have to have this press meeting to do that," Mr. Werner said. "We have had many phone calls already." After announcing a site, Mr. Werner said the company hoped to start site work by year's end and start building a sport utility vehicle in 1997. The total project cost is expected to be about \$650 million. He said the \$300 million plant is expected to employ about 1,500 workers by decade's end. Annual production is expected to be about 60,000 units, including 40,000 for export to Europe. Mr. Werner said the U.S.-produced vehicle would be new, instead of a version of the Gelandewagen 300 GE, a four-wheel-drive vehicle sold in Europe and Japan. It will have a six-cylinder engine, antilock brakes and four-speed automatic transmission.

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CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES. Table with columns for Cross Rates, Eurocurrency Deposits, Key Money Rates, and Forward Rates. Includes data for various currencies and interest rates.

MARKET DIARY

Oil and Chip Issues Lead Dow Higher

Bloomberg Business News NEW YORK — Stock prices rebounded slightly Monday on the New York Stock Exchange, with shares of oil and semiconductor companies leading the rise. The Dow Jones industrial average, which had plunged 68.63 points on Friday, rose 8.38 to 3,379.19. Gains in Texas Inc. and Chevron Corp. stock offset declines in shares of Procter & Gamble Co. and McDonald's Corp. "After what happened Friday, it wasn't surprising that we saw prices stabilize as investors try to figure out what's going to be the next big move in stocks," said Peter Da Puzo, senior managing director at Cantor Fitzgerald & Co. Standard & Poor's 500 Index increased 0.90 to 442.29, ending a three-session slump. The Nasdaq Combined Composite Index gained 0.86 to 670.71, while the American Stock Exchange Market Value Index rose 0.32 to 417.84. Declining common stocks led advancing issues by about 8 to 7. Stocks plunged Friday in response to a pessimistic earnings outlook from Philip Morris and a report showing that the U.S. economy lost jobs in March. Lyman, chief dealer at the Bank of Tokyo in New York. Investors looking for big interest-rate cuts in Germany were dealt a blow Monday, when the president of the Bundesbank, Helmut Schlesinger, told a German newspaper that such cuts must not come too quickly. Combined with concern about the U.S. economic recovery, the slow pace of German rate cuts makes the dollar unattractive to investors, traders noted. "When you don't have great reasons to buy dollars, it gets expensive to hold them," said Carl Amendola, vice president at Bayerische Hypothek und Wechselbank, investors started to gain more from holding marks than dollars because interest rates are as much as 4.5 percentage points higher in Germany. Despite the record yen levels, currency markets remained generally quiet Monday ahead of the Jewish and Christian holidays. "There's very thin trading," said Mark Morris, a corporate trader for NatWest Bank. Mr. Morris said many traders stayed out of the market altogether because of the extended holiday period, which began Monday night with the start of Passover and continues through Easter Sunday. (L.P. Bloomberg)

Dollar Under Pressure In Preholiday Trading

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Foreign Exchange

Analysts said a recovery on the Tokyo Stock Exchange pushed the yen higher at the dollar's expense. There was talk in Tokyo of intervention by the Bank of Japan to support the U.S. currency. (Page 19) The dollar closed in New York at 113.685 yen, down from 113.750 on Friday. In London, the dollar was at 113.70 yen, down from 114.20. The U.S. currency closed at 1.5943 Deutsche marks, down from 1.5993 DM in New York on Friday, at 1.4765 Swiss francs, down from 1.4795 francs, and at 3.4131 French francs, down from 3.4355. The pound strengthened to \$1.5210 from \$1.5215. Traders attributed the dollar's weakness against European currencies to signs that German interest-rate cuts would be few and far between. "Things that have been supporting the dollar, like the promise of lower German interest rates, are evaporating," said John

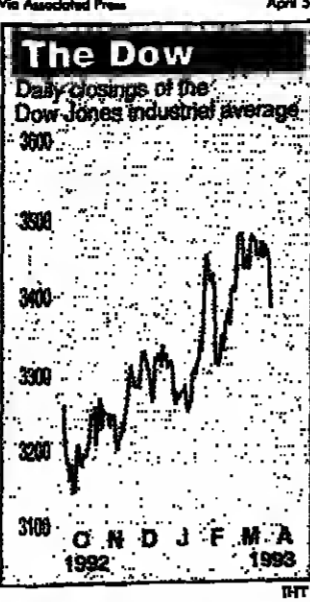


Table titled 'NYSE Most Actives' showing stock symbols, volume, high, low, and change.

Table titled 'AMEX Most Actives' showing stock symbols, volume, high, low, and change.

Table titled 'NYSE Diary' showing advanced, declined, unchanged, and total issues.

Table titled 'AMEX Diary' showing advanced, declined, unchanged, and total issues.

Table titled 'NASDAQ Diary' showing advanced, declined, unchanged, and total issues.

Dow Jones Averages

Table showing Dow Jones Averages for various indices like Industrials, Transportation, Finance, etc.

Standard & Poor's Indexes

Table showing Standard & Poor's Indexes for various sectors.

NYSE Indexes

Table showing NYSE Indexes for various sectors.

NASDAQ Indexes

Table showing NASDAQ Indexes for various sectors.

AMEX Stock Index

Table showing AMEX Stock Index for various sectors.

Dow Jones Bond Averages

Table showing Dow Jones Bond Averages for various bond categories.

Market Sales

Table showing Market Sales for various categories like NYSE adv. volume, NYSE adv. contracts, etc.

N.Y.S.E. Odd-Lot Trading

Table showing N.Y.S.E. Odd-Lot Trading for various months.

S&P 100 Index Options

Table showing S&P 100 Index Options for various months.

EUROPEAN FUTURES

Table showing European Futures for various commodities like SUGAR, COFFEE, etc.

Food

Table showing Food futures for various commodities like SUGAR, COFFEE, etc.

Stock Indexes

Table showing Stock Indexes for various markets like FTSE 100, Nikkei, etc.

Spot Commodities

Table showing Spot Commodities for various commodities like Wheat, Soybeans, etc.

Dividends

Table showing Dividends for various companies.

Financial

Table showing Financial data for various companies.

U.S. FUTURES

Table showing U.S. Futures for various commodities like Grains, Metals, etc.

Grains

Table showing U.S. Futures - Grains for various commodities like Wheat, Corn, etc.

Metals

Table showing U.S. Futures - Metals for various commodities like Copper, Silver, etc.

Livestock

Table showing U.S. Futures - Livestock for various commodities like Cattle, Hogs, etc.

Financial

Table showing U.S. Futures - Financial for various commodities like U.S. Bills, Treasury, etc.

Food

Table showing U.S. Futures - Food for various commodities like Soybeans, etc.

Stock Indexes

Table showing U.S. Futures - Stock Indexes for various markets.

Commodity Indexes

Table showing U.S. Futures - Commodity Indexes for various markets.

U.S. / AT THE CLOSE

Coca-Cola Enterprises Buys 2 Plants

ATLANTA (AP) — Coca-Cola Co. said Monday it planned to sell bottling subsidiaries in Tennessee and the Netherlands to its biggest independent bottler, Coca-Cola Enterprises. Coca-Cola Enterprises' acquisition of Coca-Cola Beverages Nederland and Coca-Cola Enterprises' acquisition of the company said. Coca-Cola BV marks its first international purchase, the company said. Coca-Cola Enterprises is the bottler of Coke products in the Netherlands, serving about 15 million people. It generated revenue last year of more than \$320 million. Enterprises also plans to buy Roddy Coca-Cola Bottling Co. and Coca-Cola Bottling Co. of Johnson City, Tennessee, which serve more than 1 million people in Tennessee and which had revenue of about \$86 million in 1992. The Atlanta-based companies said they expected the deal to be completed by the end of June. Coca-Cola Enterprises is the largest Coca-Cola bottler, distributing more than 50 percent of the company's U.S. bottles and can volume. The Coca-Cola Co. owns 44 percent of the bottling company.

GE Capital to Acquire Reliance Unit

STAMFORD, Conn. (AP) — General Electric Co. said Monday that its GE Capital unit had signed a definitive agreement to acquire United Pacific Life Insurance Co. from Reliance Group Holdings Inc. for at least \$512 million. GE Capital said Reliance would continue to receive earnings from United Pacific from the start of the year until the sale was complete. GE Capital said the acquisition of United Pacific, which writes annuity markets annuity products and has assets of \$6 billion, would help it create "a significant annuity business."

Sales of U.S.-Built Cars Increase 8%

NEW YORK (Knight-Ridder) — Sales of U.S.-built cars rose 8 percent, to 247,736 units in the March 21-31 period, translating into a seasonally adjusted annual selling rate of 6.6 million cars. Sales of U.S.-produced cars and trucks rose 12.5 percent to 427,046 units. Total vehicle sales, including imports, rose 8.9 percent to 467,746 units, according to manufacturers' figures. There were 9 selling days in the 1993 period, unchanged from 1992.

Leslie Fay Cos. Files for Bankruptcy

NEW YORK (Knight-Ridder) — Leslie Fay Cos. said Monday it had filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection, and lined up a debtor-in-possession financing commitment of \$100 million from Citibank. The company said it filed for Chapter 11 "in the aftermath of irregularities disclosed in connection with the company's year-end audit," which prompted the company's bank group "to severely limit the company's working capital facility, in both amount and duration." Calling its business "fundamentally sound," Leslie Fay said it expected to repay creditors 100 cents on the dollar for all their claims. As of Jan. 2, the company said it had unaudited consolidated assets of about \$440 million and unaudited consolidated liabilities of about \$360 million.

Weekend Box Office

Table showing Weekend Box Office for various movies like 'The Untouchables', 'The Untouchables II', etc.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Large table showing World Stock Markets for various cities including Amsterdam, Helsinki, Brussels, Frankfurt, London, Zurich, Toronto, etc.

U.S. Treasury Faces Cash Crisis

WASHINGTON — The U.S. Treasury could run out of money by Wednesday and default on Social Security and other obligations if it continues to delay borrowing in markets, an official said Monday. The Treasury postponed Monday's weekly auction of bills because Congress did not enact legislation raising the debt limit by about \$225 billion. The legislation is held up by a filibuster by Senate Republicans. In a March 18 letter to Congress, Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen said the government would "run out of cash and room under the current \$34.45 trillion debt limit on April 7." Mr. Bentsen's estimate has not changed, said a Treasury official, who requested anonymity.

U.S. FUTURES

Large table showing U.S. Futures for various commodities like Grains, Metals, Livestock, Financial, etc.

SPORTS SOCCER

Japan, Trying to Avoid U.S. Mistakes, Takes a Header in J-League

By Steven Brill
International Herald Tribune

TOKYO — Japan's national soccer team was crowned when it toured Europe in 1960, and a bumbled center-forward, Saburo Kawabuchi, thought it would take 100 years to make Japan internationally competitive in the sport.

Now, as chairman of the 10-team professional J-League, which begins its first season next month, Kawabuchi is confident that his country can avoid the mistakes that doomed professional soccer in the United States 20 years ago, and can become a contender on the global soccer scene.

"When we began thinking about starting professional soccer in Japan, our first idea was, how can we make Japan competitive internationally?" Kawabuchi said the other day. "So we realized we had to

set up a league structure that is new to Japan."

Borrowing as its models Europe's regional competition and U.S. sports marketing organizers structured a league that is radically different from Japanese baseball, presently the biggest professional sport in this country.

And, with soccer becoming more popular than baseball among Japanese youth, organizers are confident they can develop local talent and cultivate interest among a population that, like that in the United States, has had relatively little exposure to soccer.

But critics contend that the J-League will flop unless the Japanese learn to play soccer with a competitive verve unknown to pro-

fessional baseball here. Unless the matches are exciting enough to spur a growing interest over a period of years, Japanese corporate sponsors may drop out rather than face continuing losses of tens of millions of dollars a year.

"The outlook is grim," said a sports commentator, Kazuo Chujo. "The key to success is the players, yet the talent here is poor. They have speed, but no common sense as to how to move the game along."

Professional sports in Japan have long been linked with corporate sponsorship. Professional baseball, which began after World War II, has grown into a huge enterprise backed by some of the country's biggest companies. It enjoys huge crowds and extensive television exposure. Sumo is also popular, but operates on a smaller scale.

Despite the popularity of base-

ball, most of its teams are losing money. One reason is that talent and therefore fan interest, is concentrated in a handful of clubs. Companies accept the monetary losses because their names are part of the team names, an association that makes sponsorship a good way

to promote corporate image while reducing taxes.

A major problem, however, is that players are treated like salaried employees. So with less to gain and more to lose, players and managers

become sponsors, but so was everybody else," said Takayuki Miyashita, a Toyota Motor Corp. marketing executive. "But now we see it as a way to contribute to society in the long term, so it's O.K. to take losses for 5 to 10 years."

Lower corporate profiles, the league argues, will also regional identities to develop, thus helping attract fans to a little-known sport. "Our ideal model was the Bundesliga of Germany," Kawabuchi said.

While the J-League has tried to make its teams and players less like the country's legions of blue-suited salarymen, it is outdoing Japanese baseball in exploiting marketing potential. "We learned merchandising from the Americans," Kawabuchi said. The eyes of the league's directors, he added, were opened after they discovered that the National Football League in the United States had four billion

yen in sales in Japan in 1990, part of an overall take of 300 billion yen.

The J-League expects to rake in about 10 billion yen in marketing commissions this year, about equal to that of Japanese baseball. Suntory, a leading distiller, and Nippon Shuipan, Japan's biggest consumer card supplier, are said to have paid the league 300 million yen each for the privilege of sponsoring the two main series. Eight other companies, including the cosmetics maker Shiseido Co. and the sporting goods manufacturer Mizuno Corp., coughed up 70 million yen to become official sponsors. Sony Creative Products signed a five-year contract to be the league's exclusive merchandiser of "character goods," including T-shirts, bats, pencils and megaphones.

The league is also trying to avoid the lopsided distribution of talent

that undermined pro soccer in North America. In the early 1970s, for example, the New York Cosmos spent millions to import such foreign stars as Pelé and Franz Beckenbauer; other teams lacked the means to buy such talent, and the less fortunate couldn't compete, and went bankrupt in the end.

The J-League is distributing much of its TV and merchandising revenues evenly among the clubs. Unlike the North American Soccer League, it has also imposed a limit of three foreign players per club and committed itself to building a farm system to cultivate domestic talent.

Still, there are concerns that teams with wealthier sponsors, such as Verdy, sponsored by the Japanese media giant Yomiuri, and the Grampus Eight, backed by Toyota, will dominate. Toyota, for example, is reported to have lured the English star Gary Lineker with a total package that could be worth as much as 10 billion yen a year.

Other foreign stars playing in the J-League include Zico of Brazil and Pierre Littbarski from Germany.

While foreign players will no doubt help attract fans, most of them are in the twilight of their careers, and some have derided the J-League as a "pensioner's league."

For now, the J-League has got the country's attention. More than 300,000 people applied for tickets for the league opener on May 15 in Tokyo's National Stadium. But fears that it will be perceived as just another Japanese fad, and that interest will fizzle, led the J-League to petition the sport's world governing body, the Federation of International Football Associations, or FIFA, to allow the J-League to introduce sudden death overtime, an innovation that will avoid ties.

Still, there are two crucial events beyond the league's control that could make or break professional soccer in Japan. The first is next year's World Cup in the United States. If Japan could secure one of the two Asian berths in the competition, it would help rally nationalistic fervor for soccer. Yet Japan is a long-shot, because it faces tough competition from the United Arab Emirates, South Korea and others.

More crucial is Japan's bid to be host of the World Cup in 2002. Unless it gets the go-ahead in 1996, the J-League could be doomed. The World Cup is key to rallying the political support necessary to build a minimum of 15 stadiums with a seating capacity of at least 40,000 each. The league average is now 15,000, too few for any team to ever turn a profit.

Kawabuchi reckons Japan has an 80 percent chance of getting the World Cup. But Tokyo could face serious competition from China should Beijing lose out to Australia in its bid to hold the Olympics in the year 2000.

If professional soccer succeeds in Japan, it could hasten the advent of professional volleyball and basketball here. It could also pressure Japanese baseball to become more competitive. But, most important, it could help liberate Japanese sport from its corporate noose.

"We're trying to change the character of professional sports in Japan," Kawabuchi said. "We need more freedom and sports can play a unique role in delivering this message."

Next: Gary Lineker, role model

The NCAA Showdown at Last

Fab 5 Fire vs. Tar Heel Consistency

By Malcolm Moran
New York Times Service

NEW ORLEANS — They cried on that final Monday night nearly a year ago. They spat obscenities in the Michigan dressing room after what had been a taut championship game against Duke suddenly dissolved at the very end into a crushing 20-point loss for them.

From that moment on, in a high-profile business usually dominated by the personalities of its coaches, Michigan's Fab Five were the focal point of this year's national college basketball tournament.

The five freshman starters turned to sophomores. The scrutiny of their play became far more intense. The effect of professional dollars on their eventual breakup came up more often.

In the last couple of weeks, their inconsistent play in this tournament alienated observers and inspired howling in the stands.

But through it all, the Wolverine sophomores and their supporting cast never lost sight of their tournament's primary theme: From the bald heads of Chris Webber and Jason Rose to their baggy shorts and black shoes, the championship stage was theirs as long as they could reach it.

When Michigan (31-4) and North Carolina (33-1) met here in the Louisiana Superdome on Monday night, two gifted teams would be competing to reach the victory platform, but only one would be pushed by the memory of a year ago.

The Wolverines would attempt to build upon their 79-78 victory over the Tar Heels on Dec. 20 in the semifinal round of the Rainbow Classic in Honolulu. That was the game that temporarily cost Michigan Ray Jackson, a 6-6 1/2-meter forward who has added more consistent offensive play to his outstanding defensive skills. Jackson played 1 minute that night before suffering a separated shoulder.

In the semifinals here Saturday night, he scored 11 points, with 8 rebounds, in Michigan's 81-78 overtime victory over Kentucky.

This North Carolina team, which defeated Kansas by 78-68 Saturday, does not suffer from the lack of emotion that might have affected past Tar Heel teams at tournament time. With George Lynch at the end of his senior season, concentrating his contribution on the inside game because that is where he is needed most, the Tar Heels have escaped every dangerous situation so far.

The approach of North Carolina's coach, Dean Smith, whose 54 victories is the most in the history of the tournament, emphasizes consistency of effort and the proper habits under duress. Those qualities have produced the remarkable achievement of 13 consecutive appearances in the tournament's round of 16 (the next-longest streak is 3), with nine Final Four trips in Smith's 32 seasons. (He has only one title, however, in 1982; North Carolina also won the championship in 1957; Michigan won in 1989.)

North Carolina's reliance on order, reinforced by freshmen who have chased loose balls off practice floors and carried film projectors on trips regardless of their talent, is a central part of its mindset.

Last week, when the Tar Heels were at home in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 7-foot center Eric Montross listened to a question asked too frequently and answered too seldom. Who do you think will win the other semifinal game?

"I like Kentucky," Montross volunteered. "I think they have a good chance. They're a more balanced team. Not that Michigan isn't. But — I'll say it — they're more structured than Michigan is."

But the Wolverines, whose talent has obscured the work their coach, Steve Fisher, has done, exhibited a structured, disciplined approach against Kentucky in the overtime victory Saturday night. The Wolverines avoided falling into the trap set by Kentucky's press — not in the face of the full-court pressure, but once the ball was advanced beyond midcourt.

Michigan resisted the temptation to punish Kentucky and take the first good shot once the press was broken. In the second half and in overtime, 27 of Michigan's 36 shots were taken from 9 feet away or closer. The Wolverines ran more set plays than usual to exploit their advantage inside.

"This is the smartest group of players I've ever been associated with since I've been coaching," Fisher said. "Obviously, this is also the most talented. But you can't win with one without the other."

A major factor Monday night would be the question of whether North Carolina's consistency will be overcome by Michigan's fire inside.

"I try to stay away from thinking about this specific game," Montross said. "I didn't know if we could get here as a team. That was our goal. We're so close to achieving the ultimate goal for any college player."

Michigan has anticipated reaching this stage again for the last year. "It was something you never want to do," Rose said when asked about the memories of a championship game last year.

"It seemed like the world was going to fall on our shoulders," Rose said. "We knew we had a great season, but it seemed like that would have been the perfect climax. We don't plan on feeling that way Monday."



Texas Tech Wins a Title With Its Star in Overdrive

Sheryl Swoopes, driving on Ohio State's Nikki Keyton, scored 47 points as Texas Tech won its first NCAA women's title, 84-82, in Atlanta. The 47 points were the most ever scored, by man or woman, in a final; Swoopes hit 16 of 24 field-goal attempts, 11 of 11 free throws, got five rebounds, three assists and two steals, and sank four of her six 3-point shots. Among her 10 all-time marks: most points in the women's tournament, 177, for an average of 35.4 points in five games; most points in the Final Four, 78; most points in a half for a championship game, 24, in the first half.

Blame Shifts On Grand Debacle

London — The blame for the great Grand National disaster seemed to shift Monday back toward the race's starter, Keith Brown, as a top level inquiry began at Jockey Club headquarters.

Local flagman Ken Evans, paid £28 (\$42) a day to act as recall man to Brown, had been blamed Saturday by track officials who said he failed to raise his flag.

Jockeys who continued the race after the second false start agreed they saw no recall signal, although Evans, 58, insisted on Sunday he had raised his flag.

But a video recording of the chaotic scenes at the time of the second false start showed that Brown's red flag was not properly unfurled.

With Evans 100 meters away, the starter's flag would have been much less easy to see than if it was waving fully.

Brown, 64, the senior Jockey Club starter, was officiating at his sixth and final National before retiring.

As bookmakers began trying to sort out the major problem of refunding more than \$100 million in void bets, one of them, William Hill, said it had decided not to sue over the debacle because it could bankruptintree race course.

William Hill, whose 1,800 betting shops took in £15 million (\$22.5 million) in bets had earlier said it was considering a claim of negligence against the race course and the Jockey Club.

"Although we were assured we would have a very strong case, we have decided to write off the loss as a bad debt," a William Hill spokesman said.

Around the country, betting shops were being manned by extra staff to cope with the rush on what has been dubbed "Mad Monday" and some opened early.

Some people may have to wait until the middle of the week before getting their cash back, bookmakers said.

DENNIS THE MENACE

PEANUTS

CALVIN AND HOBBS

JUMBLE THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME

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مكتبات الأصيل

SPORTS BASEBALL

The Crack of a Bat Rangers Trounce Orioles, 7-4, in Season Opener

By Dick Roraback
Away on this side of the ocean
When the chestnuts are hitting green
And the first of the café commandos
Are moving outside for a time
And the sound of spring beats a bolero
As Páez sheds her coat and her hat
The sound that is missed more than any
Is the sound of the crack of a bat.

There's an animal kind of a feeling
There's a stirring down at Vincennes Zoo
And the kid down the hall's getting restless
Taking stairs like a young kangaroo
Now the dandy is walking his poodle
And the concierge sunning her cat
But the heart's with the Cubs and the Tigers
And the sound of the crack of a bat.

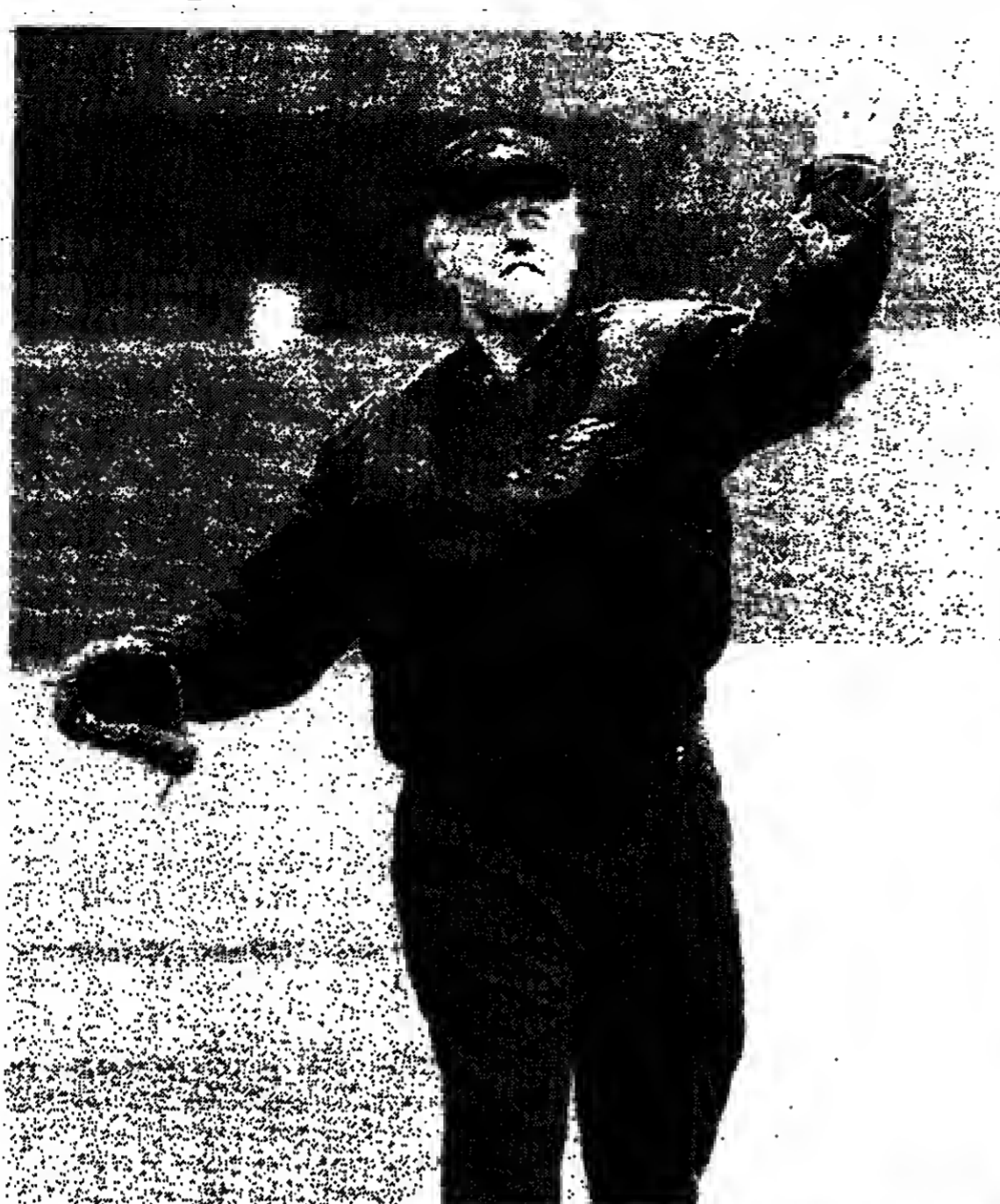
In the park on the corner run schoolboys
With a couple of cartons for props
Kicking goals at La Fontaine or Kopa
While a little girl goes chlofas for cops
"Goal for us," "No it's not," "You're a liar."
Then the classical shrieks of a spot
But it's not like a rhubarb at home plate
Or the sound of the crack of a bat.

Here the stadium thrill to the scrumdums
And the soccer fans flock to the games
And the chic punt the nags out at Longchamp
Where the women are dames and not dames
But it's different at Forbes and at Griffith
The homes of the Buc and the Nat
Where the holiday and peanut share laurels
With the sound of the crack of a bat.

No, a Yank can't describe to a Frenchman
The rasp of an umpire's call
The continuing charms of statistics
Changing history with each strike and ball
Nor the self-conscious jog of the slugger
Rounding third with the tip of his hat
Nor the half-smothered grace of a hook slide
Nor the sound of the crack of a bat.

Now, the golfer is buffing his niblick
And the tennis buff's tightening his strings
And the fisherman's flexing his flyrod
Like a thousand and one other springs
Oh, the sports on both sides of the ocean
Have a great deal in common, at that
But the thing that's not HERE
Is the sound of the crack of a bat.

Dick Roraback is a former Sports Editor of the Herald Tribune. His springtime ditty has appeared in this space since the 1960s.



President Bill Clinton throwing the first ball — high — at Baltimore's Oriole Park at Camden Yards on Monday.

Schott on Hand as Reds Edge Expos, And Marlins Win Their First Game

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
President Bill Clinton threw out the first ball, then Juan Gonzalez and Dean Palmer each hit two balls out of the park, lifting the Texas Rangers over the Baltimore Orioles, 7-4, on major league baseball's opening day on Monday in Baltimore.

Before the game, the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson led a group of about 300 demonstrators outside the park in a protest against baseball's minority hiring practices. Jackson, head of the Rainbow Coalition of Fairness in Athletics, was expecting up to 1,500 people to participate in the protest.

Clinton, meanwhile, became the first Democratic president since Jimmy Carter to throw out the first ball. He took the safe approach, lining up well in front of the mound, and floated a high and outside ball to the Baltimore catcher Chris Hoiles.

Clinton said he thought Jackson's protest was "fine." "I think it's a legitimate issue," he said. The president failed to provide the Orioles any more luck than did Carter, who watched Baltimore lose the seventh game of the 1979 World Series in his only appearance at an Oriole game.

Baltimore got a first-inning run when Brady Anderson doubled and scored on a groundout by Cal Ripken. Rijo, coming off elbow problems that limited him to two complete games in 1992, allowed just four singles and a triple and retired 14 of 15 batters over one stretch. He struck out five and didn't walk a batter.

Rob Dibble relieved in the top of the ninth. He gave up a two-out home run to Larry Walker before getting the save. Montreal's Dennis Martinez was almost as impressive, but wound up losing because he hung a pitch to

center. After Julio Franco singled, Palmer homered into the left-field seats. Baltimore countered with a three-run fifth, the big blow a two-run double by Mike Devereaux. Palmer made it 6-4 with a solo shot into the ivy beyond the center-field wall. Clinton left shortly before Gonzalez hit his second homer off Alan Mills in the eighth.

Craig Lefferts, who spent the last part of the 1992 season with Baltimore, suspended for a year as the Reds' owner for using racial slurs, was as flamboyant as she was allowed to be. She watched from a private box behind home plate, occasionally waving to fans, and had a taped message played on the scoreboard before the game.

BASEBALL ROUNDUP

more, got the victory by allowing four runs and seven hits in six innings. He struck out seven. Tom Henke, acquired as a free agent, pitched the ninth for his first save with the Rangers.

Reds 2, Expos 1: In Cincinnati, Marge Schott was unshakable and Jose Rijo nearly unhittable as the Reds ended an off-season of scandal with a victory over Montreal. The largest regular-season crowd in Riverfront Stadium history — and one bashed owner — watched Rijo allow five hits in eight scoreless innings.

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SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

Table with NBA Standings, Eastern Conference, and Western Conference columns.

HOCKEY

Table with WALEE CONFERENCE and CAMPBELL CONFERENCE columns.

BASEBALL

Table with Exhibition Results and Transactions columns.

Gems, Amid the Glitter, Will Still Shine Through

By Claire Smith
Smith, a card-carrying member of the core primarily because of 13 consecutive Gold Glove seasons. Who they are is obvious. Nolan Ryan, George Brett, Barry Bonds, Will Clark, Bo Jackson, Rickey Henderson, Smith said. "I know I said I'd name only the top five, but I'm gonna rock-and-roll here, now. Put Don Mattingly on the list. Roberto Alomar, Barry Larkin, too. Kirby Puckett. Dave Winfield. Cal Ripken.

Other players, no less dedicated to their games, sought other directions. They, too, can generate excitement, as well as conversation, as fans speculate how these players will do in new settings.

Playoffs like Bonds, the two-time National League most valuable player, who has taken his off-time outrageous, but potent, act to San Francisco, where he'll join up with the equally flamboyant Clark. And Cy Young winner Greg Maddux, late of the Cubs, who joins the man he edged for the 1992 pitching honor, Tom Glavine, in Atlanta.

Intuitively, rather than departing their teams via free agency. "I can't speak for Kirby, but I did it for the people of St. Louis," Smith said. Although he is not thrilled with his contract, Smith said that "for me, it wasn't just about money."

The Penguins Are Bad Birds

The Associated Press
How hot are the Pittsburgh Penguins? So hot they're untouchable. The defending Stanley Cup champions continue to rip through the National Hockey League, winning their 14th straight with a 5-2 decision over New Jersey on Sunday night and zeroing in on the league record for consecutive victories.

"I think it's important for us to go out there and try for the record," said the Penguins' superstar, Mario Lemieux, who had an empty-net goal and two assists as Pittsburgh tied the second-longest winning streak in NHL history, by the 1929-30 Boston Bruins.

"We've come so far, we'll certainly give it a good shot to get the record for a great streak," Lemieux said. Lemieux, who has 22 goals and 22 assists in the streak, improved his season's point total to 150 for a seven-point lead over Buffalo's Pat LaFontaine in the scoring race.

The Penguins have a chance to tie the record set by the 1981-82 New York Islanders when they entertain the Montreal Canadiens on Wednesday night. They can break it with another victory Friday night, against the New York Rangers at Madison Square Garden.

McLaren Says Senna to Race Sunday

LONDON (Reuters) — Ayrton Senna will drive Sunday for McLaren in the European Grand Prix at Donington Park in England, the team said Monday. The Brazilian, who leads the Formula One championship after two races, has been driving for McLaren on a race-by-race basis this season with American Michael Andretti.

Andretti's father, Mario, became the oldest race winner in IndyCar history on Sunday when he won the Valvoline 200 while his injured New Han-Has teammate Nigel Mansell, last year's Formula One champion who crashed Saturday, watched on television at his home in Florida.

Andretti, the former Formula One world champion, got his 100th IndyCar victory at the age of 33 years and 34 days.

PARIS (Reuters) — The Grand Prix des Nations, the last event of cycling's World Cup calendar, was on Monday given a new home in France for the next three years. The Tour de France Society, which will run the event, said the end-of-season time trial will take place at the Lac de Madine in northeast France. The 59-kilometer circuit will stage the race on Oct. 16 and again in 1994 and 1995.

SIDELINES

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For the Record

Valeri Bezenky, the 1991 pommel horse titlist from the Soviet Union, was given permission by the International Gymnastic Federation to defend his title as an individual in next week's world championships in Birmingham, England, although Azerbaijan missed the filing deadline.

Mike Staudy shot 5-under-par 67 to beat Payne Stewart and Russ Cochran by one stroke in the Freeprest-McMoran Golf Classic in New Orleans.

Clyde Drexler, the Portland Trail Blazers' all-star guard, will miss several games after straining a hamstring. Flemming Povlsen, the Danish striker, has had his season ended by torn knee ligaments, dealing a blow to Borussia Dortmund in its UEFA Cup match Tuesday against the French club Auxerre.

Quotable

Larry Andersen, a relief pitcher for the Philadelphia Phillies, on the popular seventh-inning stretch song, "Take Me Out to the Ball Game": "Why would somebody that's there get up and sing, 'Take Me Out to the Ball Game?' The first person to do it must have been a moron."

John McMullen, the owner of the Houston Astros who once was a limited partner with the New York Yankees: "There is nothing quite so limited as being a limited partner of George Steinbrenner's."

Blackie Sherrod of the Dallas Morning News: "Every time I see someone bluster Boss Steinbrenner as a dumb pop-off, I remember he paid only \$8.8 million for the richest franchise in pro sports and every time he pops off, he makes tabloid headlines and sells more Yankee tickets."

TRANSACTIONS

BASEBALL National League NL — Normandy Wally Ball, Brian Gorman, Angelo Hernandez, Jeff Kautsky, Larry Poff, and Larry Vanover to unaffiliated staff.

ATLANTA — Released Wally Backstrom, Infielder, from minor-league contract. Sent Jeff Wilcox, catcher, to his minor-league camp for reassignment. Moved Keith Mitchell, infielder, designated hitter, from Atlanta to Philadelphia. Designated hitter, pitcher, for reassignment. Optioned Roman Caraballo, second baseman, to Richmond of the International League.

CHICAGO CUBS — Purchased contract of Jose Bautista, pitcher, from Iowa AA. Dave Smith, pitcher, will remain in Mesa AA. Steve Lincecum, pitcher, will remain in Mesa AA. CINCINNATI — Put Hal Morris, first baseman, on 15-day disabled list. Outfielder, infielder, from minor-league contract. Sent Jeff Wilcox, catcher, to his minor-league camp for reassignment. Moved Keith Mitchell, infielder, designated hitter, from Atlanta to Philadelphia. Designated hitter, pitcher, for reassignment. Optioned Roman Caraballo, second baseman, to Richmond of the International League.

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ART BUCHWALD

The Health Problem

WASHINGTON — There's no doubt that medical costs are out of control in the United States, and everyone is blaming someone else.



Buchwald

Chuck Iron is certain that he knows when the health costs began to get out of hand. He told me, "The trouble started when doctors increased the number of magazines they subscribed to for their waiting rooms, without taking into account what it would cost the patient."

Chuck said, "That's what doctors want you to believe. But there is no such thing as a free chest X-ray or a copy of Architectural Digest. Many physicians demand to be paid in advance before you can read one of their magazines."

I said, "I heard that some doctors take kickbacks on the Good Housekeeping that they have in their offices. Is that true?"

New Museum a Tribute To Norman Rockwell

STOCK BRIDGE, Massachusetts — The world's largest collection of Norman Rockwell's works, housed in a new museum bearing his name, has opened to the public.

"Doctors cannot afford to leave old magazines around because they might lead to infection. The insistence of the FDA that M.D.s display only the latest editions is what's driving up the cost of medicine."

American Tale: Flip Side of Oscar Hijuelos

By Esther B. Fein

Miami — This is a city that should make Oscar Hijuelos feel completely comfortable. It has a large and literate Cuban-American population that has responded enthusiastically to the novels he has written about the lives of Cuban-Americans, including the Pulitzer Prize-winning "The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love" and his latest, "The 14 Sisters of Emilio Montez O'Brien."



Hijuelos: Garcia Marquez influenced him, but so did Yeats and Flan O'Brien.

The fried plantains and black beans his mother, Magdalena, prepared for him as a child are easily found in dozens of Cuban restaurants here. And the sunlight on the ocean reminds him of the only time he visited Cuba, when he was 3.

Cuban restaurant that bore little resemblance to his mother's kitchen. "I consider myself a New York writer of Cuban parentage, with different influences," he said. "My background is an important element, the most important, but not the only one."

read a book like "The 14 Sisters of Emilio Montez O'Brien" and concentrate on the Monter aspect to the exclusion of the O'Brien one. At the reading at the Miami Dade Community College downtown campus, he was polite but defensive when someone in the crowded auditorium asked him why he hadn't written a book about post-Castro Cuba and someone else asked whether he planned to write a book in Spanish.

WEATHER

Table with weather forecasts for various regions including Europe, Asia, Africa, North America, Europe, Asia, Middle East, and Latin America.

CROSSWORD

Crossword puzzle grid with clues for Across and Down.

BOOKS

JOURNEY TO THE VANISHED CITY: The Search for a Lost Tribe of Israel

By Tudor Parfitt, 278 pages, \$22.95. St. Martin's Press.

Reviewed by Louise LeVathes

In the hills of southern Zimbabwe lie the ruins of a mysterious, ancient city that flourished in the mid-14th century. Its walls and buildings once harbored large quantities of gold jewelry that were greedily melted down and sold by explorers who discovered the site in 1871.

CHESS

Salov's 31...Ng6 was smashed by Karpov's 32 Nf7! Kg8 33 Qg6!

Salov's 31...Ng6 was smashed by Karpov's 32 Nf7! Kg8 33 Qg6! Salov would set up the unfavorable 35 Rb8 mate and gave up.

Karpov's powerful thrust 26 g6! forced the opening of avenues to the black queen. On 26...f5, there could have followed 27 Qb3 b6 28 Qf5 Rg7 29 Qf7 Rb8 30 Nf6!.

White: Karpov Black: Salov

CHESS

Robert Byrne

NOT even an Anatoly Karpov can repeatedly recover from an early loss. The going was hard in Linares because Karpov was competing against his archrival, Gary Kasparov, the world champion and the man that defeated him in 1985.

Through 15...a6, this game followed a B. Alterman-1. Tesesary encounter in Israel last year. But Karpov took a moment out to impede Black's queenside counterplay with 16 a4 instead of pressing forward immediately with 16 g5.

Rather than await Karpov's kingside attack, Salov offered a pawn with 18...b5 19 ab ab 20 Nb5 to start queenside activity with 20...Qb6. After 21 Nbc3 21...Qb2?

CHESS

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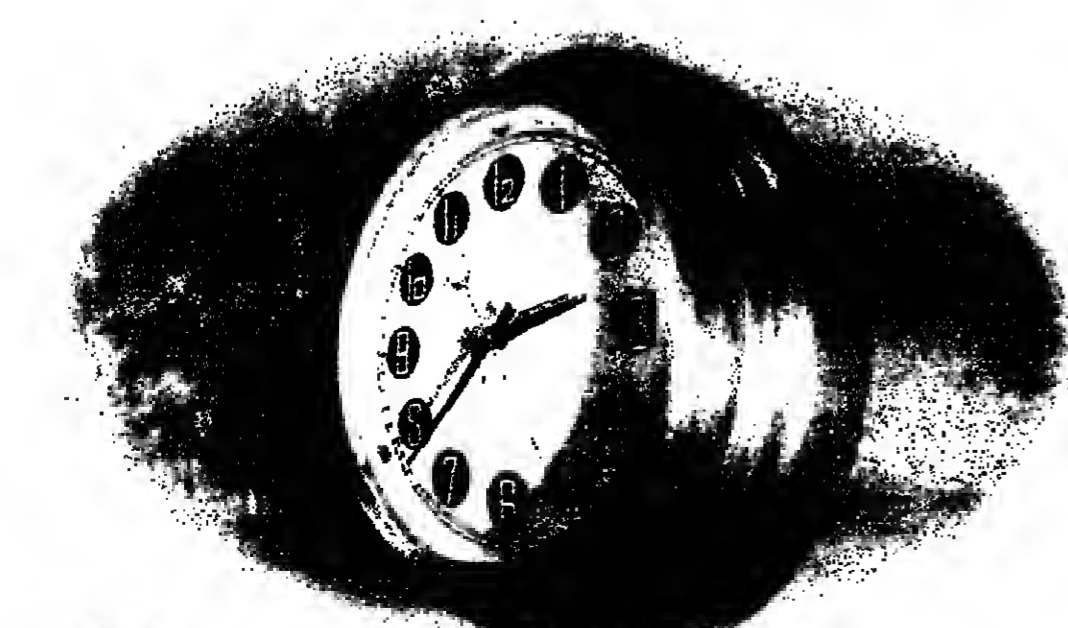
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PEOPLE

The King and Franco: A Best-Seller in Spain

Best-selling royal: "The King," José Luis de Villanueva's book in which King Juan Carlos I reveals details about Franco and his own role in Spain's transition to democracy, has sold nearly a quarter-million copies in its first month on Spanish shelves.

Then, abruptly, Hijuelos's train of thought shifted, as if another voice entered his mind in mid-sentence. "My father had nine sisters and my mother had three," he said. "I think that gives me a certain legacy. Since I have only one brother, sometimes I think that about a bursting household is compensational."

Pope John Paul II has legitimized the three children of Princess Caroline of Monaco in a decree. The children were born to Caroline in her marriage to the Italian Stefano Casiraghi, who died in an offshore boating accident in 1990.

General Norman Schwarzkopf is back in Vietnam, where he began his military career 25 years before becoming a household name commanding U.S. forces in the Gulf War. He is with Dan Rather to film a CBS television documentary on the Vietnam War.

Hard times: Queen Elizabeth II is still Britain's richest person but her fortune has shrunk by £1.5 billion (\$2.3 billion) in a year and details of her wealth remain obscure, an annual survey said.

Terry Anderson, the former chief Middle East correspondent for The Associated Press who spent nearly seven years as a hostage in Beirut, and Madeleine Bassil will be married April 18. Anderson and Bassil have a 7-year-old daughter.

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED logo with text: Appears on Pages 11, 12, 13 & 19